# The Outlook

SEPTEMBER 23, 1914

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## THE STORY OF THE WAR

### BY ARTHUR BULLARD

THE OUTLOOK'S WAR CORRESPONDENT AT HOME

THROUGHOUT the sixth week of the war—September 9 to 16—the center of interest has been the campaign in France.

Dame Fortune has begun to smile on the Allies in a way which General Joffre, who certainly has not shown undue optimism in his earlier despatches, pronounces "undeniable." In the map which The Outlook published last week the extreme Right of the German army was due west of Verdun. Within the week it has been swung back forty-five degrees. Amiens, which the Germans occupied on the 28th of August and evacuated on September 15, is almost exactly northwest of Verdun. So the rapid German advance, which last week I said showed signs of being checked, has been definitely repulsed.

More important, however, is the news that the French Center has not only held its own, but has advanced. A week ago its two wings were folded back in an acute angle, with Verdun as its apex. There has been little change at Verdun, but the two wings have straightened out; the Left has advanced to Rheims; the Right, which last week rested on Nancy, has pushed on to the border near Metz.

The German Crown Prince has been forced to withdraw his headquarters from St. Menehould.

The great battle of the Marne, from Paris to Nancy, has been most thrilling and has eclipsed the work of the French Army of the Right. But it also has advanced steadily all this week. The War Office announces that the eastern frontier has been cleared of the Germans and several points in Alsace have been retaken.

Another week has passed, and no French army has been destroyed at a new Sedan. No French army has been bottled up in a fortress as was Bazaine at Metz. The great flanking movement of the German Right through Belgium and northern France was marvelous, but it seems to have come to naught. For five weeks the Germans have advanced. They have added many great victories to their proud record of 1870—Mons, Charleroi, Givet, at St. Quentin and Compiègne, at Dinant and Neufchâteau and Rethel, in Lorraine and in Alsace. They reduced the great forts at Liège, Namur, Maubeuge, La Fère, and Rheims. But for all this stupendous effort and appalling loss they have very little to show. They rose like a rocket—it is too soon to say they have fallen like its stick. They may yet—on new lines—win victories in France. And if they are driven farther back, they will surely find new strength, when, like the French, they reach their own defense lines. Germany is not defeated—but her "dashing attack" has failed.

#### THE BELGIANS STRIKE AGAIN

The British War Office categorically announces that no Russian troops have passed through England and that none are fighting with the Allies in France or Belgium. And so this rumor is officially quashed. A surprising number of people who ordinarily tell the truth asserted that they saw the Russians in England with their own eyes.

But without this phantom to help, the Belgian army took the field again. We have no direct evidence, but it is almost certain that the brave blows they struck in their sortie from Antwerp had a large influence in the victories of their allies to the south.

Contempt for the military power of the



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Belgians has been perhaps the greatest error of the German General Staff. It seems to be its theory that, once you have driven an army back for a while, you no longer need to worry about it. Sir John French in his report, which was published by the British War Office on the 14th, uses a significant phrase. The Germans, he says, were "prepared to ignore the British, as being driven out of the fight." Apparently they also "ignored" the Belgians on the same grounds. At all events, they left a weak curtain of "second-line" troops to hold them in Antwerp and rushed their main force south to France.

King Albert waited his opportunity and suddenly struck hard. How far the raid of his little army of veterans extended we do not know. But they went far enough. If they did not actually cut General von Kluk's lines of communication, they certainly threatened them. And so they added greatly to the debt the Allies already owed them.

### VON KLUK'S FATAL MOVE

General von Kluk's portrait will probably never be hung in the rooms of the German General Staff.

Up till the first days of September his army—the extreme Right of the Germans—had covered itself with glory. His long flanking swing through Belgium, his successive victories over the English, promised to hold a high place in history.

"On Friday, September 4," Sir John French reports, "it became apparent that there was an alteration in the advance of almost the whole of the first German army. . . . It was observed that the German forces opposite the British were beginning to move in a southeasterly direction."

The British at once took the offensive, attacking the flank of von Kluk's army. The Army of Paris, all fresh men, fell on the German rear-guard along the river Ourcq. For a day or two von Kluk's tired men tried to hold the Allies back. But for the first time in the campaign the Germans were outnumbered. The retreat began; daily it increased in haste and disorganization.

The change of front was fatal—more fatal than the disastrous results to this one army under von Kluk. It was the psychological turning-point in the campaign. It is hardly possible that the Allies could have kept their nerve through many more days of retreat. Victory—even if in itself unimportant—redoubled their courage and immensely increased their striking power. The myth that the Germans were invincible was exploded.

A dozen explanations of this change in direction have been offered. None of them can be proved till more details are at hand. The military expert of one London paper says it was deep-laid strategy to entice the Allies into a trap, which somehow did not close at the right moment. Another theory—and it is as good as the others, for none are proved—is that the German Crown Prince became jealous because all the glory was going to von Kluk, and that he ordered the disastrous move. Many reports say that the Germans ran out of ammunition and that the prisoners were exceedingly hungry. Apparently the commissariat had broken down. But the Germans were especially proud of their commissary arrangements. It certainly looks as if the Belgians had cut the lines of communication.

One thing is certain: General von Kluk will bear the blame of the disastrous move, although he is probably not at all to blame. If the German Armies of the Center and Left had defeated the French according to schedule, as their fathers did in 1870, General von Kluk would have been before Paris ready for the siege.

### THE CASE FOR BELGIUM

A commission representing all the political parties of Belgium has come to America to lay the case of their country before President Wilson and the Nation.

I asked them what they hoped we would do for them, and one of them quoted the old French phrase, "*Je ne propose rien, je ne suppose rien, j'expose*" ("I do not propose anything nor suppose anything, I expose"). Their mission is one of exposition. Their object will be achieved if they make us understand their situation.

Practically every able-bodied man in Belgium has taken up arms—all who have not been killed are still fighting. But none of them had any more desire to fight than have you or I. Their King had a neutrality proclamation all ready to issue—it would have been worded in almost the same official phrases which Mr. Wilson used—when the news came to him that the frontier had already been violated, that the quiet villages of his peace-loving people had been invaded.

The President has asked us to preserve

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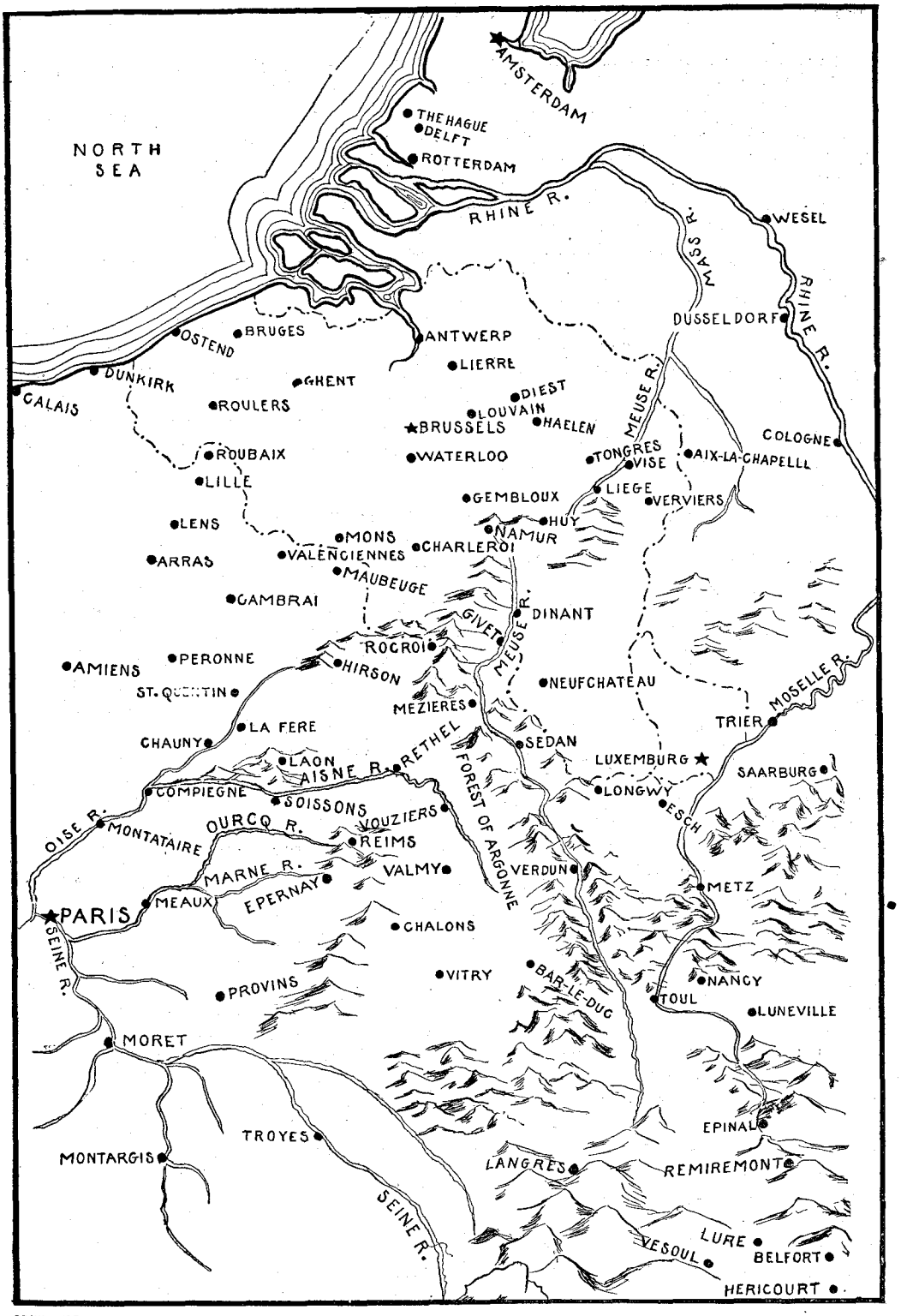


DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY RUDOLPH SCHOENE

GERMANY'S WESTERN FRONTIER

This map, in which the principal mountain ranges and rivers have been emphasized, shows the country through which the Germans advanced for five weeks and through which during the sixth week they retreated. On September 9 the line of the Allies stretched from some place on the Oise near Paris through Meaux, Vitry, Verdun, Nancy. On the 16th, starting from Amiens, it crossed the Oise between Chauny and La Fère; it crossed the Aisne between Laon and Soissons; it runs through Rheims, and in an almost straight line through Verdun to the frontier. The Germans seem to have reformed for a defensive action in a strongly intrenched position on a line from Peronne, St. Quentin, La Fère, Laon, and on the hills to the north of Rheims. Their position to the east of Rheims is uncertain.

The map illustrates how much more rapidly armies operate in level country than in the hills. The German Right, after leaving Liège, swept through lands almost as flat and treeless as our Western prairies. The retreat through this territory was equally rapid. But in the wooded hill country about the Meuse and in the Vosges there has been relatively little advance by either side.

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the spirit, as well as the letter, of neutrality. Such was also the desire of the Belgians. Theirs is a case apart in this great European war. The war was not of their seeking. Belgium has nothing to gain. She is not fighting to add to her domains; she is not fighting for the French colonies of North Africa nor for the German colonies of Central Africa; she is not fighting to annex Poland, nor to open the Dardanelles. No matter who is defeated, it will not mean for her the prosperity which comes from the ruin of a dangerous commercial rival. She is not even fighting to defend her own property. She has already lost almost everything but her honor. Nine-tenths of her territory has been overrun, her capital has been occupied, her prosperous cities have been laid waste, her villages burned, her crops ruined, her industry disorganized, and very many of her youth have fallen.

She could have avoided most of this if she had been willing to sell her honor. She is fighting with a force no one dreamed she had —and is doubtless surprising herself with her valor—for an ideal of civilization.

Every statesman of both sides has tried to convince us that his government is fighting for civilization. But Belgium's right to that boast is indisputable.

Law and respect for the pledged word form the very essence of civilization. And, in a way, international law is the most sacred of all. Jean Jacques Rousseau found the sanction for law in the "Social Contract." It was his theory that government is a voluntary organization into which we enter of our own free will and forswear certain of our individual rights in order that the state may give us protection. Modern students dispute Rousseau's theory. But it holds true of international law. Prussia voluntarily entered into the contract of Belgian neutrality. And if the nations are not to keep their solemn pledges, there is no international civilization.

In every material way Belgium would have been better off if she had sold herself to the highest bidder. Is the German Chancellor right in calling an international treaty "a scrap of paper"? That is the point the Belgians are fighting over.

### THE "LOUVAIN INCIDENT"

During this week there have been more charges and counter-charges of atrocities in Belgium. The German Government has published a report on the "Louvain incident." The full text of it has not yet reached this side. But from the reports it seems that they insist that they have not violated the laws of war. If a civilian shoots a soldier, he is to be summarily executed. If a village resists the army, it is to be burned. If a group of citizens in Louvain shot some German soldiers, the destruction of the city was justified.

This is the German thesis. It is their assumption that their troops had a perfect right to march through Louvain. Any attempt to justify their acts by the laws of war seems to me to beg the question, which is, Had they a right to make war in Belgium?

The Belgian peasants certainly had not signed any contract not to shoot strange trespassers who trampled down their crops and "requisitioned" their horses and cows. The Germans had signed a contract to keep out of Belgium. It is rather as if a burglar should break into your house and claim that the laws of burglary justified him in shooting you if you resisted.

As far as the Belgians are concerned, it is no answer for the Germans to say that if they had not violated the treaty the French and English would have done so. Whoever crossed the Belgians' frontier unasked is in a very bad position to insist that they should observe any law.

### DUMDUM BULLETS

The French President and the Kaiser have given each other the lie direct in regard to the use by their armies of the dumdum bullet. There is a sort of ghastly ludicrousness about this controversy. The official spokesmen of two nations which are straining every nerve in the business of killing find time to accuse each other of doing the slaughtering in an "inhuman" manner. A dumdum bullet expands when it hits something soft—as, for example, a human stomach. Instead of making a modest, humane little hole, it spreads out into barbed points and tears its way through. It is perhaps ten per cent more painful to be killed by a dumdum than by a steel bullet. But it was not for humane reasons that the steel bullet was adopted. Its advantages are discussed in military journals of all languages. It is not so likely to kill a man at once. And it is better business to wound a man than to kill him. Some one will have to carry him back to the ambulance, and that means two men

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out of the fighting line instead of one. It is a gruesome farce to talk about the humane niceties of war.

### THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN

Every week that passes makes the Russian army more important.

But the despatches from the Eastern theater of war are most unsatisfactory. On the 15th both Germany and Russia claimed notable victories in East Prussia. And when the reports are not flatly contradictory they are distressingly vague. The Russian frontier is so long that it is hopeless to try to get any coherent idea of the various campaigns. We had, for instance, reports that the Germans had advanced into Russian Poland to Lodz. There was no news for several days, and then a despatch of the 15th announced that the Germans were fortifying Kalisz—thirty miles nearer their own frontier. Have they been driven out of Lodz by the Russians? And what bearing has this German withdrawal on the other operations on the frontier?

The first move of the Russians was into East Prussia in the north. It is probable that, like the French advance into Alsace, it was little more than a raid. This is a low-lying country, full of lakes and swamps, utterly unfitted for the movements of large forces. The first line of German defenses is the row of forts on the Vistula. It is probable that the Russians intended to drive back the advance-guards in this territory. They would scarcely need 50,000 men for this purpose. The "great victories" at first reported could not have been important. Some of the Germans were driven into the fortress of Königsberg, and the Russians swept on to the Vistula. The Germans then attacked in force. The Russians admit a reverse at Allenstein. But this campaign can hardly be decisive.

The short direct route for a Russian army to Berlin is via Poland; but of this territory we have even less news. I have not been able to find any report of the number of Russians operating from Warsaw; but it is probably greater than their force in East Prussia. The first move in this district came from the Germans and Austrians. Their object was undoubtedly to block this short direct route.

Of the German advance we know nothing from Russian sources, and only the statements from Berlin, first, that they had occupied Lodz, and now are preparing to defend Kalisz.

In the Austro-Russian campaign we know a few moves with more definiteness. First, an Austrian force invaded Poland; it was certainly more than one hundred thousand men, perhaps a quarter of a million. They met little or no resistance, and penetrated as far as Lublin, where they stopped or were stopped.

A few days after they had commenced the invasion a Russian advance developed in force from the direction of Odessa. The Russian progress into Galicia was at first unopposed. But near the river Bug they met and overcame a stiff resistance. A little farther on they defeated an Austrian army before Lemberg and entered that city. Advance-guards from this army pursued the Austrians towards Przemysl, on the river San. Some reports claim that the investment of this fortress has begun, others seem to contradict this. The Russians also reported that their cavalry had seized some of the passes of the Carpathians. These actions involved what we may call the Austrian Right.

The Austrian Center between Kawaruska and the frontier was already engaged with an army from Kiev; the victorious Russians turned north from Lemberg and caught this Austrian Center on the flank. Another heavy engagement is reported at Tomaszow, just over the border. The Vienna despatches admit severe loss and the Russians claim an immense victory. The remnant of this Austrian Center is reported to have retreated towards Jaroslav, on the San, hotly pursued by the Russians.

The Austrian Left, which we last heard of at Lublin, may have retired, and so have been involved in the battle at Tomaszow. Even if it has escaped defeat, it must be completely isolated and surrounded by overwhelming forces of the Russians. Its fate seems sealed. Cablegrams of the 16th report that the Russians have successfully crossed the San and are approaching Cracow. The river San offers a strong natural defense position for the Austrians, and the fact that they did not defend it indicates that their rout has been complete and overwhelming.

The despatches from Petrograd claim that in this campaign in Galicia about twice as many Austrians have been killed or captured as could by any chance have been on the firing line.

But, in spite of evident exaggeration, the Russians seem to have gained by far the most tangible victory of the war. The Aus-

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trians, their main army broken to pieces by the Russians and having suffered humiliating defeats in the Servian campaign, are practically eliminated as a factor in the military situation. The capture of Semlin by the Serbs must have done even more to shatter the prestige of the Austrian military caste than the loss of the Crown Prince's army in Galicia.

A German diplomat is reported to have said that the Kaiser was going into this war carrying a corpse. Austria has lived up to his expectation.

If Russia can now clear the Germans out of Poland, she will be free to begin an advance into central Germany by the "short route." Posen is the only strong fortress between her Polish frontier and the river Oder. She will not have to worry about East Prussia. With a few hundred thousand men there she can keep the German forces in their fortifications.

All reports to the contrary, it is extremely improbable that the Germans have as yet weakened their armies in the west to withstand the Russians. But unless her offensive in France very quickly succeeds—and all the present indications are that it has failed—she will have to adopt defensive tactics on both frontiers.

New York, September 16, 1914

# THE WEEK

### DEMOCRATS WIN IN MAINE

The State of Maine holds its fall election nearly two months in advance of the other States of the Union. The result of the Maine election has therefore come to be regarded as an indication of the way public sentiment is running, and of the probable results in the November elections. Last week the voters of Maine cast their ballots for Governor and for Members of Congress as well as for the Legislature and for local offices. The result was the election of the Democratic candidate for Governor, Mr. Oakley Curtis, by a plurality over Mr. Haines, the Republican candidate, and Mr. Gardner, the Progressive candidate. The vote on the Governorship shows that the Democrats are still in the minority in the State, for the Republican and Progressive vote combined exceeded the Democratic vote by several thousands. It is estimated that the Progressive vote in the State will aggregate from 18,000 to 20,000, which is about one-third the size of the Democratic vote polled for Mr. Curtis.

Maine sends four Representatives to Congress. Of the present incumbents three are Republicans and one is a Democrat. All four were re-elected. The lower house of the State Legislature has become Democratic, and the Democrats control the Legislature on joint ballot.

It ought to be no surprise that the traditionally Republican State of Maine should have elected a Democrat to succeed a Republican in the Governorship. The Republican party is still under the control of the same forces which dominated it two years ago, and the revolt against those forces continues. The Democratic party, on the other hand, although it has not acquired a great deal of popular confidence for itself, is still under the leadership of President Wilson. Moreover, the war in Europe has tended to make Americans stand together, and has thus brought support to the Administration which it might otherwise not have received. There has been some revulsion of feeling against the Democratic party, whether just or unjust, on account of hard times; but the international crisis has done something to nullify this revulsion of feeling. Political sentiment changes rapidly in this country, but the Maine election is one of many indications that the Wilson Administration is in a strong political position.

### SHOULD COLLEGES BE TAXED?

Every State in the Union except one exempts from taxation property used by colleges for educational purposes. The one exception is the progressive State of California. That State proposes now to end the practice of taxing college property in the United States by adopting a constitutional amendment which will make such property exempt. This amendment has been adopted by the Legislature with but one dissenting vote. It is now before the voters of the State, who will pass upon it in November. In accordance with the California practice, an opportunity is allowed to present the arguments

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for and against this amendment. It is interesting to know that no opposing argument has been made.

Taxes are levied because those who are making a profit from property or industry are supposed to be under an obligation to share in supporting the Government. There is a difference of opinion as to what should be the proper basis for taxation; but all theories of taxation assume that the income of the State should in some way be derived from profits—that is, from the natural increment of wealth. Colleges, churches, and charitable institutions are not engaged in profitable business; they are engaged in some kind of social service. Taxation of them means, not the taking of the State's share of the people's increment in wealth, but rather the impairment of that social service.

It will be California's duty to sacrifice the taxes now derived from such institutions, even if that means the renunciation of a large sum of money. As a matter of fact, however, the sacrifice which California is called upon to make is ridiculously small—amounting in 1912–13 to less than $21,000. The amendment is drawn so that only institutions of collegiate grade are exempted, and no institution even of that grade will be exempt if it is conducted for profit. If the income from the students exceeds the institution's expenses, then the institution will not be exempt. Moreover, the property that is exempt from taxation is limited to that which is used exclusively for the purpose of education; and no such institution can hold exempt from taxation land exceeding one hundred acres.

It is not often that an entire State population can be unanimous in a vote, but we see no reason why this amendment should not pass unanimously.

### THE WITHDRAWAL FROM VERA CRUZ

Mexico celebrates September 16 as its Independence Day, and on that date last week President Wilson announced his purpose to withdraw United States troops from Vera Cruz as soon as proper arrangements can be made for turning over custom-house, finances, and municipal control to the Mexican authorities. It is known that General Carranza has urgently requested this withdrawal, and President Wilson holds that the circumstances which justified the occupation no longer exist. It is generally understood that Carranza is to remain at the head of a purely military government, that he is to summon a National Mexican Convention, which will select a Provisional President other than Carranza himself, and that an election for President and members of Congress will follow under the provisions of the Mexican Constitution.

There were really three reasons for occupying Vera Cruz: one was to exact reparation for an indignity to the American flag—with the fall of Huerta this is no longer a necessity; the second was to prevent arms from reaching Huerta's forces, and, though unavowed, this was part of our Administration's view that the elimination of Huerta was the first step toward good relations with Mexico—this purpose was not of avail, and certainly it is now of no consequence; the third was to impress Mexico with the fact that the United States would not tolerate anarchy and misgovernment in Mexico—it is still open to question whether conditions in Mexico are such as to make it wise to withdraw before a government is established which the United States can accept as legal and just.

Naturally, the Constitutionalists and Mexico at large are impatient for the withdrawal of foreign troops from their territory. Apparently President Wilson has, or thinks he has, satisfactory assurance that conditions are ripe for taking the step. At least, it is a pleasure to record that in the occupation and government of Vera Cruz the United States has given a valuable lesson to Mexico in municipal order, in sanitation, and in disinterested control of a city to the benefit of its people.

### THE RED CROSS AND THE BELGIAN RELIEF FUND

Never before have people been so willing as in these days to help one another; and never before has there been such a demand upon the human impulse to help as during this present war.

There are two ways of helping. One is to send money for the relief of suffering, no matter who the sufferers may be; the other way is to send money for the relief of some special group of sufferers. For the relief of suffering without distinction of nationality or race there is one great organization—the Red Cross. For the relief of special groups or classes there are special committees or

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organizations. Americans who have affiliations with one or another of the belligerent nations and who wish to contribute specifically to the relief of some one of them will have their own means of knowing how to do so. We should advise any one who wishes to contribute to the cause of ameliorating human suffering wherever it may be found to send a contribution to the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., or to the local branch of the Red Cross in the community in which the contributor lives.

There is one group of sufferers, however, who have a special claim upon the sympathy of the world. They are not belligerents, but they are suffering from the war as much as if they were participants in it. These are the non-combatant refugees from Belgium. Their country was not involved in the diplomatic issues that preceded the war. It had no quarrel with any of the belligerent nations, but it was in their way. Without having given any offense, it was invaded, many of its villages burned, many of its inhabitants made homeless. Its army was called upon to defend its soil against the invader, and in this way it became a belligerent; but in relation to the issues involved in the war Belgium is as neutral as the United States. Circumstances, however, have made Belgium suffer out of all proportion. No other nation involved has been so prostrated. Thousands of its inhabitants have now taken refuge in Great Britain, for there is no place for them in their own land. Others have fled to France.

There is therefore special reason why the plight of these Belgians should make an appeal to Americans. For the relief of these Belgian refugees there has been formed in New York a Belgian Relief Committee. The firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. is the depository of the Belgian Relief Fund, and contributions should be sent to the care of that firm at 15 Broad Street, New York City. Checks should be made to the order of "J. P. Morgan & Co., for Belgian Relief Fund."

### THE PLATTSBURGH CENTENARY

Rarely, if ever, in the history of the country has there been a more significant or beautiful historical commemoration than the centennial of the Battle of Plattsburgh, New York, September 6–11. The event had a double significance. It was a recognition not only of the successful defense of the country in a moment of great peril, but also of the beginning of a hundred years of peace between Great Britain and the United States. Many eloquent tributes were paid to Commodore MacDonough and the brave men of the American fleet who successfully resisted the gallant Downie, commanding the British fleet; but beneath and behind all these tributes and every form of visible commemoration was the gladness of heart that for a hundred years two great nations had been at peace and that there stretched between them more than three thousand miles of boundary absolutely unfortified on either side. The battle was small, measured by the number of ships, men, and guns employed; it was great by reason of the superb courage which it evoked and the decisive character of its result. In the Revolution General Burgoyne attempted to divide the colonies by precisely the same route which the British forces took in 1814; this skillful strategic plan, which, if successful, would have imperiled the independence of the country, was defeated at Saratoga by Arnold and Schuyler, on Lake Champlain by MacDonough.

The exercises began on Sunday, September 6, with services in the church and at the Catholic Summer School at Cliffhaven; on Labor Day there was a parade by labor organizations and addresses by Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell, and others; on Tuesday the interest centered at Vergennes, Vermont, where MacDonough's fleet was hastily built.

One of the most touching and impressive events of the celebration was in Riverside Cemetery, where Sir Charles P. Davidson, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the Province of Quebec, made an eloquent address and placed a wreath on the graves of the American sailors who fell in the battle, while Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie spoke of Commander Downie, and placed a wreath on the grave of this gallant sailor, who was buried with honor by the people of Plattsburgh after the battle. On Friday, Centennial Day, addresses were made to great audiences by Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, and by Governor Martin H. Glynn, and a very interesting and effective historical address by President Thomas, of Middlebury College. Mr. Percy MacKaye read with his customary fire a poem descriptive of the battle. The exercises closed with a dinner at the Hotel Champlain that evening. Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson presided, and eloquent and moving addresses were delivered by Mr. Justice Riddell, of the

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Supreme Court of Ontario, and Robert C. Smith, K.C., of Montreal.

The most picturesque feature of the celebration was the Pageant of the Champlain Valley, presented in a series of fifteen episodes, largely historical, but with poetic interludes which interpreted to great audiences the spirit of the beautiful landscape in the heart of which the pageant was staged. Many of the characters were taken by descendants of the original settlers. In more than one episode every participant was of the blood of the settlers, whose coming was dramatically presented. The study and interpretation of the history of the Champlain Valley, stimulated by the pageant, illustrated anew the historical as well as the artistic value of pageants adequately staged and appointed. Miss Margaret Maclaren Eager, assisted by Miss M. Eager, created a series of dramatic scenes, to which it is but just to affix their names as the names of artists are affixed to pictures and the names of sculptors to statues.

The New York State Commission, of which Mr. Stetson was Chairman, not only prepared a programme which set the Battle of Plattsburgh in the foreground, but very skillfully evoked the deeper sentiment of the occasion, and made the lovely landscape in which all the exercises were unfolded a noble accessory.

### THE "STAR-SPANGLED BANNER" CENTENARY

There have been many centennial celebrations in this country during the past two decades, but none more picturesque and appealing than that which was recently observed with varied and interesting exercises in Baltimore, commemorating the writing of the "Star-Spangled Banner." This National hymn was born in the throes of battle, and the incidents which it describes were seen by its author; in the effort to secure the exchange of a friend who was a prisoner on a British ship he happened to be during the memorable night of the bombardment of Fort McHenry on the deck of the Minden, in a position from which the attack was vividly revealed in all its details.

Francis Scott Key watched with alternating hope and fear the flag floating over the fort, standing out clear in the light of rockets and bursting bombs, and then obscured by the smoke; and when the firing ceased Key had no means of knowing whether the flag still waved. His imagination was fired by the striking episode; and part of the poem was written on the deck of the Minden, and finished as soon as Key landed. It was published in the Baltimore "American" nine days later, September 21, 1814. The flag which Key watched with such passionate interest was not the Star-Spangled Banner of to-day. It bore then fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, in accordance with an Act of Congress signed by Washington twenty years before. The flag remained in this form for twenty-three years. It now bears thirteen stripes, representing the original colonies; but the forty-eight stars which appear on its surface register the development and expansion of the United States.

Although not in one sense the National anthem, the "Star-Spangled Banner" has received special attention at the hands both of the army and the navy, and it has become dear to a host of Americans. Mr. Key adapted his song to an English air written to accompany "To Anacreon in Heaven" and sung at important meetings of the Anacreontic Society at a tavern in the Strand, London. The music was written by an Englishman, John Stafford Smith, and was published in his "Fifth Book of Canzonets, Catches, and Glees," about 1780. The tune cannot be sung, as the Austrian and English national hymns can be sung, by a great multitude with ease of memory and ease of voice; it belongs rather with the French "Marseillaise," though the tune lacks the bugle-like qualities of that stirring air.

A national anthem ought both to be simple in expression and to be set to simple music; and no doubt the time will come when such an anthem will be written by an American. The criticism often made that Americans do not know their own National anthem has a basis of fact; but the fact finds its explanation in the nature of the music. The army regulations prohibit the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" as a part of a medley. One of the humiliations of Americans abroad is the playing by the great bands of "Yankee Doodle" after the Russian and Austrian hymns. The regulations also provide that when the President and Vice-President are formally received the bands shall play the "Star-Spangled Banner;" and that whenever it is played at a military station or at any place where persons belonging to the military service are present in uniform, all officers and enlisted men shall stand at attention. The

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regulations further require that the same respect shall be observed towards the national air of any other country when it is played as a compliment to official representatives of such countries. At every military post or station while the flag is being lowered the band is required to play the "Star-Spangled Banner."

Of late years the flag has become in a new sense the National emblem. It floats over every school-house on the continent. When it appears, heads are always uncovered, and when the "Star-Spangled Banner" is sung not only members of the army and navy rise but all citizens stand. It is the symbol of the history, the spirit, and the aspirations of the Nation.

The principal speaker at the centenary in Baltimore was Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State. At the close of the formal exercises Mr. Edward Berge's heroic statue of Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead was unveiled, Governor Stuart, of Virginia, delivering the address and giving the facts concerning Colonel Armistead's command of Fort McHenry during the bombardment.

### NEW YORK'S FREE MARKETS

"The high cost of living" is a catch phrase to the newspapers, but it is a hard reality to the provider for a family who may not realize all the blessings of peace at home when paying the prices caused by war abroad.

A venture in reducing living expenses by establishing four free markets in the Borough of Manhattan is watched with interest not only by New Yorkers but by wide-awake municipal authorities all over the country. In many American cities municipal markets are not new. Especially in the South, in Washington, Baltimore, and Charleston, they have been known and approved for years. But as a general rule markets have been conducted as much as a source of revenue to the municipality as a convenience to the consumer. The distinguishing point about the Manhattan experiment is that the farmer shall be at no expense to bring his produce directly to the purchaser. Free advertising and free competition, without overhead charges and without any commission to middlemen, are the forces which it is hoped may bring prices down.

War between Germany and Russia was declared on August 1, and on September 1 Borough President Marcus M. Marks, of Manhattan, opened fire on the high soaring food prices by his three new markets under the city's bridges and one at an uptown ferry landing. The attack on the first day appeared weak and uncertain. At the ferry only one farmer and a few peddlers were in line, and at the other markets conditions were not encouraging. General Marks and his aides did not despair. They felt that the fault lay in the slow mobilization of the rural forces, and that as soon as the farmers could be convinced of the benefits of co-operation success would be assured. Agents were sent out into the country to enlist volunteers, officials of other city departments were pressed into service, while housewives were encouraged to continue their support of the markets.

In less than two weeks the situation had completely changed. Reports from the four camps showed marked advances all along the line of attack. Farm wagons, peddlers, and push-carts were out in force, well supported by eager purchasers weighted down with impedimenta in the shape of market baskets, suit-cases, and leather bags. A system of communication with the rear was established by means of delivery wagons which would carry any parcel of any size for ten cents. One enterprising department store charged the enemy with rapid-fire packages of flour, butter, sugar, and staple groceries put up in small quantities at cost prices. The rivalry between the attacking divisions became acute, and the "latest advices from the front would seem to show that the invaders were retiring slowly to more strongly fortified positions previously selected."

It remains to be seen whether New York's free market system is here to stay. So far the experiment has not cost the taxpayer a penny. The city merely turned over to Mr. Marks unoccupied premises, but the Comptroller refused to release any money, and the Mayor and other officials could only promise hearty encouragement. Private firms have co-operated generously. Free electric lighting and free street car advertising have been provided, and the newspapers have given the plan large publicity, which has made itself directly felt in the daily increasing number of purchasers. Already other boroughs of the city are planning similar ventures.

It is believed that a Commission Bureau of farmers round about New York can be established on the lines of the California Fruit Growers' Association, to be managed by a salaried officer who would sell the goods of the members and return the commissions.

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This would serve to standardize commodities and protect prices from too keen competition. Meanwhile the serious question as to winter quarters has arisen, and a plan is on foot to use the city's recreation piers as market-places during the winter months.

It would be a curious thing if the miseries and privations that men and women are undergoing on one side of the Atlantic should be the indirect means of giving more plentiful food and a fuller life to others in this country. "Be thankful for your mercies" is a homely adage many Americans are repeating as they scan the horrors in the morning headlines. Industrial depression and the shrinking dollar are serious joy-killers for any nation. New York's experiment with popular markets may prove at least a small part of an argent lining to the heavy cloud overhanging these strifeful days.

Certainly it would be a sorry story if, when peace comes at last, the citizen of New York should return to his old troubles with middlemen and lose the advance in intelligent control of food distribution which he won because of murder and destruction abroad.

### SCIENTIFIC MARKETING—A NEW BRANCH OF EDUCATION

The Committee appointed by Mayor Mitchel, of New York, to investigate the sudden rise in the prices of foodstuffs following the outbreak of war in Europe has already reported a number of findings which have more than local interest. By no means the least interesting, however, is the finding that ignorance and carelessness on the part of the consumer in making purchases is an important cause of the high price of living in cities. As a result of this report of the Committee it is now proposed to introduce in the public schools of New York courses in marketing in order to teach children, and their parents too, how to compute weights and prices instead of taking the word of the butcher and baker on these important points.

Commissioner Hartigan, of the Bureau of Weights and Measures, who has done much already to expose the frauds of merchants who cheat the public with false-bottomed measures and scales that have been "doctored," and who was one of the Committee on Food Investigation, estimates for The Outlook that in more than sixty per cent of the families of New York City the purchasing of supplies is done by children.

"These children," says Commissioner Hartigan, "are often flimflammed or deceived by measures and scales which are constantly growing more complicated. We want to teach the children not only how to buy without being cheated, but also how to buy the most nourishing parts of a beeve, for instance; in other words, how to get in every way the biggest return for the family money."

Through the Mayor's Committee the New York Board of Education has become interested, and a committee of the Board is now looking into ways and means of establishing lectures and courses in scientific marketing. A number of retired butchers and bakers are available as lecturers, and it is planned within a few weeks to have lectures with stereopticons, accompanied with a course in home reading on marketing for the children. Parents will be admitted to the lectures, and thus the lesson of economy driven home, it is hoped, to every household. This project has about it all the ear-marks of that common-sense spirit of public service which has characterized so many of the measures of this city administration, which was installed by the Fusion movement of 1913, and The Outlook hopes that it will soon be found to be so practicable that other American cities will begin to teach their housewives how to avoid unnecessary expense in buying.

### STREETS FOR PLAY

"If you can't get what you want, make the best of what you have," seems to be the sensible motto of the Parks and Playgrounds Association of New York City. Unable to get a sufficient number of playgrounds to accommodate all the youngsters of the metropolis, the Association, in co-operation with the Police Department, has made temporary playgrounds out of a number of streets in the city. It is nothing new for children to play in crowded city streets, but it is quite novel for boys and girls to be turned loose in streets from which all traffic has been diverted, and to be able to play ball and hop-scotch without fear of horses' hoofs and the wheels of auto-trucks. That is the privilege that some of the children of New York have now, thanks to the Parks and Playgrounds Association and a Police Commissioner whose heart is in the right place.

The late Mayor Gaynor once said: "If I had my way, I would close up every other street and turn it into a playground for the boys and girls." If he were alive to-day, he would be pleased to see that a start has been

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made in the right direction. Parts of seven Manhattan streets are now set aside for children; at three o'clock every afternoon a policeman appears and ropes off the sacred area, into which no vehicle of any sort may come until the ropes are removed at six o'clock and traffic resumed again.

To each "play street" one or more instructors have been assigned who preside over the three-hour sessions of handball, dancing, and other approved pastimes of childhood. From three hundred to six hundred children crowd into each of these recreation blocks every afternoon, and so popular and successful has this experiment in applied sociology proved that it is planned to open other streets soon. The streets chosen for play centers are in crowded residential districts, and are not, of course, streets where much traffic is demanded by business interests. They are, in short, streets that might well be permanently consecrated to the uses of childhood. Mayor Gaynor was right; the modern city is conducted with entirely too much regard for the uses of haggling age and with entirely too little for the interests of rollicking youth.

### THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

An interesting leaflet which we have recently received from the Secretary of the Interior makes The Outlook hopeful that it may see one of its own proposals carried out by the Government. The proposal, made long ago, was that Government publications might easily and profitably be sold at every post-office in the United States. The leaflet to which we refer is a list of pamphlets on the various National parks, most of them illustrated, which can be obtained for cash or post-office money order from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. They range in price from five to twenty-five cents, and include panoramic views of the Yosemite and of the Glacier National Parks. The same notification from the Secretary of the Interior announces that various circulars about the Yellowstone, Yosemite, the Mount Rainier, the Glacier National Park, and other parks maintained by the Government may be obtained from his office free of charge. These circulars contain data regarding hotel accommodations, principal points of interest, and lists of books and magazine articles on the various regions. There is unquestionably information here which many intelligent American citizens would like to have whether they are going to visit the National parks or not.

Why cannot the Government Printing Office send monthly to every post-office in the United States, to be posted there for the information of the public, a list of the publications of the various Government departments which may be obtained gratis, or on payment of a small sum, if the applicant will give his name and address to the postmaster? This is the suggestion which The Outlook made several years ago, and which it hopes to keep on making until some Postmaster-General or Secretary of the Interior becomes interested enough in it to carry it out. The American Government wants its citizens to know what it is doing. Our Cabinet officers have not infrequently complained that the people at large are not aware of what their public servants are accomplishing for the general benefit. Why does the Government not make use of the post-office in this way? If it can be successfully used for savings banks, it can be successfully used for the dissemination of non-political Government information. The present Secretary of the Interior, who was once a newspaper man, who has written the best thing that has been said in recent times about the American flag, and who knows the value of the right kind of publicity, is the very man to put this educational and informative use of the post-office into action.

## PEACE—OR JUSTICE?

When peace comes at the end of this war, is it to be a lasting peace or merely an armistice?

This is the question which should concern the world. No negotiations for peace will be of service that will tend to emphasize compromise and to submerge justice.

It is reported that an inquiry has been sent from this country to the German Emperor as to whether he would be willing to discuss terms of peace. A similar inquiry, it is also reported, has been made of the British Government. It is hardly necessary to caution our readers with regard to reports of this sort. It is as futile to conduct diplomatic negotiations by newspaper reports as it is to try a suit at law by newspaper editorials. In the one case, as in the other, it is easy for the reader to jump at wrong conclusions through inadequate knowledge of the facts.

Such reports, moreover, do considerable

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damage by awakening false hopes. With every day of this war it is natural that desire for its end should grow. What is more important, however, than a speedy conclusion is a just conclusion. It is not as important that peace should come soon as that when it comes it should not prove to be a sham peace.

The neutral nations of the earth can inflict on Europe no injury comparable to that which would result in bringing an end merely to armed hostilities without bringing an end to the cause of those hostilities. Horrible as the present carnage is, there is one thing that would be still more horrible—a renewal of the carnage on a greater scale. An armistice, under the guise of peace, without a settlement of the issues that caused the war would invite a renewal of the carnage as soon as either side could renew its strength.

This war is a conflict between two irreconcilable ideals. In that respect it is like our own Civil War. If through the intervention of some neutral foreign power terms of peace had been agreed upon between North and South before the questions of slavery and secession had been settled, another Civil War could not have been averted. So, if through the intervention of some neutral power terms of peace should be agreed upon between Germany and the Allies before the question whether militarism can tear up treaties and trample upon small neutral nations and remain unscathed is settled, then militarism will raise its head again and submerge Europe in another bloody deluge.

If German militarism is the only defense against the barbarism of semi-Asiatic Russia, as the Germans believe, then the world had better learn that fact now, and not wait until another war enforces the lesson. If, on the other hand, militarism, as we believe, is a greater danger than barbarism (because it cannot be educated, while barbarism can), then those who are fighting against militarism should have their full chance to show its weakness and its futility.

At such a time as this a neutral nation like the United States has an enormous responsibility. It cannot discharge that responsibility if, by its offers of mediation at an inopportune time, it should place either side in the position of declining peace when acceptance of peace would be the acceptance of injustice. In the interest of humanity it behooves the United States to be wise as well as humane.

Let us be sure that the peace we seek is the peace of justice.

## THE COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENSE

The admirers of Professor Eucken read with astonishment his defense of Germany's action in violating her guarantee of Belgium's neutrality. It is as follows:

> She [England] was watching only for a favorable opportunity when she could break out suddenly against Germany, and she therefore promptly seized on the invasion of Belgium, so necessary to Germany, in order that she might cover with a small cloak of decency her brutal national egoism. Or is there in the whole wide world any one so simple as to believe that England would have declared war on France also if the latter had invaded Belgium? In that event she would have wept hypocritical tears over the unavoidable violation of international law; but as for the rest she would have laughed in her sleeve with great satisfaction. This hypocritical Pharisaism is the most repugnant feature of the whole matter; it deserves nothing but contempt.

In this defense are two defenses:

I. Germany violated her solemn word because it was necessary to her success.

The Hebrew Psalmist describes a righteous man as one who sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not. According to Professor Eucken, if a nation sweareth to its own hurt it may change without reproach, if the change is necessary to its success. A curious variation of this defense is the statement that a guarantee of neutrality is of no moral force in time of war. Neutrality for a state can exist only in time of war. So that this defense may be tersely put thus: A strong nation may pledge itself to defend the neutrality of a weaker nation in case of war, with the mental reservation that in case of war it will not defend that neutrality if it does not choose.

II. England would have violated its pledge if it had been necessary for her success.

"You're another" is sometimes used by boys in defending themselves against criticism, but all honorable boys scorn that defense. But Professor Eucken's defense of Germany does not rise even to the dignity of "you're another." It is only "We guess you would have done what we did if you had been tempted." There is no ground for thinking

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that this is true, but if it were true it would constitute no defense.

We can more easily understand the action of Germany in violating her solemn treaty than we can understand this defense of such violation by a professor of ethics. Perhaps the explanation is the tendency of teachers of ethics to forget morals, and of the teachers of theology to forget religion. The one deal with theories of right and wrong and forget conduct, the other deal with theories of the divine law and forget life. Academic theories taught in the schools and theological theories taught in the pulpit are worse than useless if they are not usable and used in every-day transactions. Professor Eucken has forgotten his own noble characterization of Christianity: "What existed merely in thought has become deed; what was an aim and an ideal has become living reality." In morals thoughts which are not translated into deeds, aims and ideals which are not converted into living realities, deceive both teacher and pupil and hinder the development which they are supposed to promote.

## PAN-GERMANISM

It might be a question for debate whether or not in the present war Germany is merely forestalling a predetermined attack upon her by Russia and France, and is therefore fighting for protection and not for aggression, were it not for the evidence of a long-pondered plan for world domination. The Outlook summarized lately the volume written by General Bernhardi three years ago, in which this Prussian military officer argued that the issue for Germany was "world power or downfall," and urged the need of striking first. Another confirmation is found in Roland G. Usher's "Pan-Germanism" (Houghton Mifflin Company), published over a year ago. Mr. Usher is Associate Professor of History in the Washington University at St. Louis. He writes not as a partisan, but as a close analyst of forces and causes. The book is extraordinary not only for its clarity but for its wide view of the international situation. For an incisive and readable account of the European situation which preceded the war it may be cordially recommended to The Outlook's readers. Since the book was written the second Balkan War and its consequences and the refusal of Italy to abide by her allies in the Triple Alliance are the only two great events which would suggest change in the exposition of Pan-Germanism if the book had been written after the outbreak of war. Add to this that the author is not writing to attack Pan-Germanism but to explain it, and that he lays full stress upon Germany's need of expansion, lack of opportunity for colonization, and dangers from the aggression of other peoples, and add further that the author has no illusions as to the ethical standards of any of the Great Powers (he puts on his title-page Madame de Staël's cynical remark, "The patriotism of nations ought to be selfish"), and it will be seen that he is not a prejudiced or fanatical witness.

What, then, is the essence of Pan-Germanism as Professor Usher sees it, of that impulse or purpose which he predicted a year ago might "at any moment result in a war whose consequences would be felt alike by the farmers in North Dakota, the operators in Lancashire cotton-mills, and the savages in the heart of Africa"—a prediction that has been fulfilled to the letter? It is "a defensive movement for self-preservation," but it also aims "to create an empire as little vulnerable politically, economically, or strategically as the world has yet seen." In short, "the Germans aim at nothing less than the domination of Europe and of the world by the Germanic race." And again: "Pan-Germanism aims at obtaining for Germany and her allies control of the world and at their retention of that control for at least a generation." It has grown from ideas of colonial and commercial expansion into a "determinedly aggressive scheme for the actual forcible conquest of the world." To the same purport Dr. Ernst Richard, a German, said in The Outlook not long since: "The Germans are determined to win at any cost, and after their victory to leave their enemies in such shape that they will never be able to disturb the peace again."

The mere existence of such a scheme of world dominion brings into play forces tending to its defeat. The German war party, supported by militarism and resting on the will of an Emperor of extraordinary personality, has been able to make the plan seem feasible. But Professor Usher says, "That Pan-Germanism, resting upon such a basis, can long withstand the assault of its internal and external enemies seems utterly improbable." Socialism and the stirring of democratic ideals in the German Empire itself, resentment in

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other nations against the arrogant attitude assumed, together with the instinct for self-preservation, make Pan-Germanism as impossible of execution as was Napoleon's vision of world rule.

It is not because Europe wants to crush Germany that it is in arms to-day, but because it will not submit to be supine under German autocratic command.

## THE TURKISH QUESTION

No European Power has a greater interest in the maintenance of justice and peace in Turkey than has the United States.

Americans have in Turkey several hundred educational and philanthropic institutions, including ten colleges, twenty high schools, and twelve hospitals, all filled to the doors. These institutions have been firmly established at important points at an expense of many millions of dollars, and they are maintained by hundreds of American citizens residing in Turkey. These men and women have gone thither with the full assent of the Turkish Government, and have purchased their property and constructed their buildings with its direct authorization. Their object is not to make money out of the people, but to render disinterested service to the people. They are not the propagandists of a hostile or a novel religion. Their schools and colleges are not organized to turn Moslems into Christians, but to imbue the people of Turkey with that spirit of justice and good will which is the essence of Christianity. They are Christian in the same sense in which Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr are Christian. Though it is stated on good authority that there are in these schools now at least a thousand of the Moslem faith, the pupils are generally Christians, not Moslems. The service which has been rendered by these institutions to Turkey cannot be estimated. The direct influence has been great, but the indirect influence much greater. As a result of their establishment the whole educational system of Turkey has been recreated and reorganized, and education has been modernized. While Turkey has no such universities as those of Russia, its public school system for the education of the people is far superior.

It is a mistake to suppose that these schools, colleges, hospitals, and Christian churches have aroused the opposition of the people of Turkey. The reverse is the fact. Prejudice against them and against the Christians who are carrying them on there doubtless is, and opposition to them by some men high in political and ecclesiastical circles. But in the main the Americans have commended themselves to the Turks. America has no desire to encroach on Turkey's territory, or to possess Constantinople, or to exercise any political control in Turkey's affairs. No considerable body of Americans are interested in making money out of Turkey, and the interest of the missionaries and the teachers and doctors has not been to make proselytes out of the Turks. In consequence, there is in Turkey no such hostility to America as there is to her nearer national neighbors. The Turks have good reason to believe that they have no disinterested friends in Europe, that their only unselfish friends are Americans.

Hitherto the protection of American citizens in Turkey has depended, as the protection of other foreigners in Turkey has depended, on certain special treaties; detailed information respecting them and how they grew up will be found on another page. Enough here to say that owing to the provisions of these treaties Turkey is unable to increase or reduce her customs duties without the consent of the Powers; foreigners have the right of trial in civil and criminal cases by their own diplomatic and consular courts; and they are exempt from the payment of certain taxes. America has no such specific treaty with Turkey, but it is entitled to claim the same rights by a general treaty giving to America all the privileges of the most favored nation. Turkey has now given notice that she abrogates all these international agreements restricting the sovereignty of the Porte and will not regard them as binding upon her after the first of next October.

Had Turkey acted in accordance with international etiquette, perhaps we should say international law, except that there is not much difference between the two, she would have entered into negotiations with the Powers before giving this notice. But it must be said on her behalf that she has not in the past found that appeals to the sense of justice of the Christian nations of Europe resulted in any very distinguished success. It was natural, and The Outlook is inclined to think legitimate, for her to seize this opportunity, when those nations are engaged in other and more important business, to free

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herself from what she not unnaturally regards as an interference with her national liberty and an obstacle to her economic and political progress. There is no reason to think that Germany has incited her to this action. Austria and Germany, as well as Italy, France, England, and Russia, have protested against it. It is not, however, unreasonable to think that if this protest leads Turkey into war she will be found fighting with Germany and Austria against Russia and England. There is no reason to believe that this is intended as a prelude to a general religious war by Mohammedans throughout the world against the Christian races. That it might lead to such a war is possible, though not probable. If anything could bring about so disastrous a result, it would be the union of all the Christian Powers in an attempt to force Turkey back into the humiliating position of tutelage from which she is trying to escape. That the Powers will make any present attempt to compel Turkey to retrace her steps is highly improbable. They must wait till the European war has come to an end.

What should America do?

America might join in the protest. And then what? Wait? Our commercial interests might wait, but our National honor cannot. We owe protection to American citizens who have gone to Turkey with the cordial assent of the Turkish Government to render unselfish service to the Christians and the Moslems residing in Turkey. We owe protection to their pupils, who are their wards and whom they certainly will not desert. Hitherto the rights of these American citizens and their wards have been guaranteed by the special treaties now abrogated. For the enforcement of these treaties we have depended on the European Powers. We have had neither fleet nor army in the Near East. We can depend on these European Powers no longer. We must be prepared, and prepared *now*, to protect our fellow-citizens, and we must decide whether for that protection we will depend on force or diplomacy.

It has been proposed that the United States ask Turkey to postpone action until the European war is over. Such a request would almost certainly be refused. If granted, it could only postpone perplexity, not solve it. By postponement the perplexity would be increased. Turkey knows that Russia and Pan-Germany—*i. e.*, Germany and Austria—want to possess Constantinople. They know that England does not want them to possess Constantinople, because the possession of Constantinople by any strong Power would threaten the Suez Canal and England's empire in the Far East. The same reason makes England unwilling to see Turkey a strong Power. Turkey is therefore naturally suspicious of the motives of England, Germany, Austria, Russia. She has no suspicions of America and no reason for suspicions. For America to ask Turkey now to postpone action until the European war is over is to align America in the Turkish mind with these European Powers, and to arouse against ourselves the suspicions from which America is now free. And if we postpone negotiations with Turkey until we can negotiate in co-operation with European Powers, we should naturally, and almost necessarily, drift into one of those entangling alliances with Europe against which Washington wisely warned his countrymen.

Before the United States there appears to us to be only two practicable courses: Refuse finally and be prepared to enforce our refusal; or consent cordially, but consent in such a way as to make it clear to Turkey that the United States expects her to treat American citizens and their wards as other civilized nations treat foreigners residing in their territories. The case is not one for half-way measures. It is not one for watchful waiting. It is one for immediate and decisive action. The Outlook believes that the policy of cordial consent is the wiser, the more efficient, and the more Christian policy.

We can best interpret the spirit in which we should like to see the United States act by a concrete illustration of one *method* which that spirit might employ.

In the winter of 1867–8 Admiral Farragut in an American man-of-war made a friendly visit to Constantinople. He was entertained at dinner by the Grand Vizier. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the President of Robert College in Constantinople, requested Admiral Farragut to ask the Grand Vizier what prevented Dr. Hamlin from getting from the Government the permission to erect the necessary building for his college—a permission often promised but never given. The Admiral asked the question. History does not record the answer; but a few days later the long-delayed permit was sent by the Grand Vizier to President Hamlin. To the Oriental a show of force which is not in form a threat gives both significance and dignity to a diplomatic request. We should like to

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see our Administration take a hint from this incident. We should like to see the President appoint three commissioners, two of whom at least should be known and liked by the Turks. There have been American educators in Turkey who were statesmen. One of the commissioners might well be such an educator; another, some former Minister to Turkey who by his administration has commended the American Nation to the Turk; the third, a man of at least National, if possible of international, reputation. We should like to see them embark on a war-ship—other means of transportation across the Atlantic being somewhat difficult, not to say dangerous—land at Constantinople, bring to the Turkish Government the cordial consent of America to the abrogation of the old treaties, the congratulations of America on the purpose of Turkey to assume all the rights and duties of sovereignty, and the request of America for the negotiation of a new treaty which would secure to Turkey, so far as America is concerned, the rights and obligations of other civilized nations, and to American citizens and their wards in Turkey civil and religious liberty. We make no attempt here to indicate what the details of such a treaty should be. It must suffice to say that it should recognize Turkey's right to impose whatever tariff on imports she chooses, even a prohibitory tariff; it should provide, in some way consonant with Turkey's self-respect, for the trial of the non-Moslem residents by other than Moslem courts, a right which was freely granted by the Mohammedans when Constantinople was captured in 1453, at the time of the Moslem invasion of Europe, and has been maintained ever since.

To this particular *method* here proposed there may be serious and even fatal objections. But we believe that if our Administration should approach the Turkish Government in this spirit, a spirit of friendly fellowship, coupled with a clear but diplomatic and unthreatening expression of the purpose to protect American rights and to fulfill American duties at every hazard, it would find it possible to make this abrogation by Turkey of the old treaty an occasion not only for a better and more efficient protection of American teachers and their wards, but also an occasion for furnishing to the Young Turks a friendly counsel and a moral support which might prove of inestimable value to the people of Turkey in their struggle toward justice, liberty, and civilization.

## THE GREAT REFUSAL

The great refusal is the refusal to accept the gift of life, which is the supreme gift of God to man. Without that gift all other gifts would have been impossible either of bestowal or of acceptance. Men and women come into life without their own volition, but they are not compelled to accept the gift of life; many do not accept it; instead of taking it with gratitude and using it with the courage of insight into its splendid possibilities, they strive to protect themselves from it as if it were a menace to their ease, a danger to their comfort. It is and ought to be both, for ease and comfort are perilous and despicable if one seeks them. There are many things of real value if they come to a man as the by-products of living, but enervating and corrupting if pursued as ends in themselves. Popularity is an excellent and useful possession if one does not seek it and is not afraid of it when it has been secured. Social influence and position are valuable if they come without seeking, but the woman who works for them degrades her soul; there is no meanness of snobbery to which the social "climber" will not descend, no personal indignity to which she will not submit, on the ignoble path which she has chosen. Even happiness, if put before honor, duty, or service, betrays the soul.

A man may live and yet refuse the gift of life. To exist is not to live; they only live who take life with all its experiences with courage and joy, who not only put aside the fear of living but welcome the opportunities of living as a brave man welcomes a perilous chance to help or inspire or lead in a moment of danger. The fear of living is the source of that cowardice which empties the lives of many people of spiritual meaning and human dignity. They may be blameless so far as external morals are concerned, and yet they are guilty of refusing the supreme gift which God puts into their hands. The pure in heart are not those who have never known temptation, but those who, fiercely tempted, have as fiercely resisted; or who, having fallen, have risen again and through purification made themselves clean. The heroes are not those who have kept away from danger, but have faced it, suffered, and triumphed.

Among the miserable throng of those who are bearing the pains of Purgatory there are none of whom Dante speaks with such scorn

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as "those inert ones who are pleasing neither to God nor to his enemies." These wretched ones have made the great refusal; they have lived without praise or blame; their offense is that they have been neither faithful to God nor rebellious. They have existed for themselves only. When opportunity interfered with ease, they chose ease; when duty came companioned by danger, they bolted the door and kept themselves safe; when, in the night and storm, the cry for help rose above the tumult, they remained comfortable by the fire; when life offered great enterprises, with the toil and peril which make success a matter of character as well as of opportunity, they stayed securely at home.

The fear of living prompts men to accept narrow positions without outlook on the future for the sake of security against the vicissitudes of business; to accept a small fixed income because it provides immediate comfort, rather than take those longer chances of fortune which impose patience, self-denial, and the training of experience at the start. Marriage brings heavy responsibilities; it interferes with the freedom to be selfish without protest or criticism; it means many surrenders of small comforts which are dear to those whose idea of life is to keep clear of obligations; it forces a man to think sometimes of another when he wishes to think all the time and only of himself.

The making and keeping of a home necessitates self-sacrifice, work, and the expenditure of time and strength. It interferes with that opportunity to do at any moment whatever you want to do which many unfortunate people call "freedom of life," and who therefore avoid the complications of home-making and home-keeping. The people who make this great refusal do not know what the words "freedom of life" mean; they put ease of condition in place of some of the supreme joys of living. To bring children into life is to tie one's self with many bands of duty, to limit one's ability to spend money freely on pleasure, to limit one's freedom in the matter of time and place, to invoke a thousand cares and burdens; the coming of a child is the most insidious form of teaching unselfishness which the Heavenly Father has yet discovered. To refuse the gift of children is to close the door in the face of a great, enduring, and wonderful happiness. It is to avoid the noblest chance of education which life offers. And yet thousands of people do this simply to escape being "bothered;" men want to keep clear of all relations which bring any obligations with them in order that they may be free to be perfectly selfish; women want to be free from the cares of maternity in order that they may devote themselves entirely to social life or to what they call a "career," as if the fulfillment of the oldest, most fundamental, and divinest of all human functions was not the richest, most influential, and happiest career open to men and women, the only really creative function committed to them. No people are more to be pitied than the young men and women who marry as a further step in selfishness; who live in hotels or take their meals at restaurants in order to escape the responsibilities of having a home; who profane a noble relationship and defeat one of the great ends of marriage by agreeing not to have children because children are "such a bother."

These unfortunate people blight their souls at the very start, cut all the deeper roots of life, and condemn themselves to a thin, narrow, superficial life, in order to escape the very things they were sent into life to achieve. They make the great refusal before they know what they are refusing; they shut the door in face of happiness in the vain endeavor to make comfortable for their bodies a world which was framed to liberate and inspire their spirits. They fall into one of the most insidious forms of sensualism and one of the most devitalizing forms of skepticism.

Without a strain of heroism life is poor and mean. Cowardice is fatal to nobility. Those who want life without paying for it not only fail to get it but do not know what they are losing; that is the penalty of cowardice. By work life becomes an achievement, by surmounting obstacles and facing dangers men and women become the masters of themselves; by self-denial and glad acceptance, by greeting the "Unseen with a cheer," they make the great acceptance and become worthy of God's great gift to his children.

In the hour of sorest trial, poor, lonely, ill, Beethoven faced life with unflinching courage, and life poured into him the wealth of knowledge and feeling which enriched all time in the "Ninth Symphony." "From the brink of the grave," said a noble Frenchman recovering from a perilous illness, "I measured, not the vanity of life, but its importance."

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# TURKEY'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

## BY FREDERICK D. GREENE

*The writer of this article is the son of the Rev. Joseph K. Greene, D.D., for fifty-five years a missionary of the American Board at Constantinople. The son, after a boyhood in Constantinople, received an American education and returned to Turkey, and was engaged for several years in missionary and educational work in Armenia. He writes from an intimate knowledge of the Turk, both at his worst and at his best. At the time of the Armenian massacres Mr. Greene resigned from the American Board in order to be free, without imperiling American missionary interests with which he had been connected, to bring out the truth as to the horrible nature, the extent, and the cause of the Armenian massacres. He is the author of "The Armenian Crisis," which deals unsparingly with the shortcomings of the Turkish Government, a book which at the time was useful in shaping public opinion both in America and in England. Mr. Greene writes without partisanship and in full appreciation of the great educational and philanthropic interests which America has in Turkey.*

*Following this article is a statement giving another point of view from an authority on Turkish affairs.*

*An editorial on this subject will be found elsewhere in this issue.—THE EDITORS.*

ON September 10, 1914, the nations of the world were formally notified by Turkey of the abrogation of the Capitulations. The European situation seemed already complicated enough. Many are puzzled to know just what this new ingredient is that has been so unexpectedly thrown into the seething political caldron—why it should be thrown in now, what will be its probable effect upon Turkey and upon other countries, and what action, if any, it calls for on the part of the United States.

The term "Capitulation," it need hardly be said, is not to be taken in a military sense; it is a diplomatic term to designate certain Ottoman state papers which were reduced to chapters (*capita*). They are the articles by which, from time to time, the Sublime Porte has granted to foreigners in Turkey certain immunities, privileges, and extra-territorial rights. Some of these Capitulations go back eight hundred years, to the very beginning of Turkish power, and their analogies can be traced even through the Roman and the Byzantine Empire, which the Turks superseded.

At the capture of Constantinople in 1453 Mohammed II, in order to check the exodus of the Christian population, and with it the leaders of commerce, craftsmanship, art, and education, decreed for these classes unusual privileges and permitted colonies of resident foreigners to continue forms of local self-government. These privileges included certain valuable exemptions from taxation, freedom from military service, and the exercise by the ecclesiastics not only of religious control but also of important civil functions within the limits of their own communions, whether of the Catholic, Greek, Jewish, Armenian, or other faiths, including the Protestant at a later date. To these privileges there have subsequently been added others, such as the right of subjects of favored nations to immunity from the procedure of Turkish law in criminal cases, and to trial in a consular court of their own country. Foreign nations have been allowed to maintain in Turkey extra-territorial post-offices with the management of which Turkey has nothing to do and from which she can derive no revenue, each nation using its own stamps for letters going out of the country. In the matter of their own tariff the Turks have been very seriously exploited by having been induced many years ago to agree to charge no higher rate than eight per cent on imports. The year after the Young Turk reformers came into power in 1909 they succeeded in obtaining the reluctant consent of the Powers to raising these duties to eleven per cent. This figure, however, is entirely inadequate to provide absolutely necessary revenue and to foster Turkish industries or even prevent them from extinction. As a result of the low tariff forced upon her the Turks have to im-



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port the "fez," their universal national cap, from Austria, and their Turkish bath towels from England.

Such, then, are the Capitulations and treaty "rights" which Turkey has abrogated. They are privileges and exemptions which are not recognized by international law or by any Power as inherent rights either of subjects of a country or of aliens within its borders. They were granted by Turkey under conditions that have largely changed, and for a great variety of reasons. Conditions of self-interest at the time have doubtless been dominant in the minds of the Turks; but it is likewise true that many valuable concessions have been given away because the Turks had no appreciation of their value.

Among the most important of the Capitulations are those which concern special franchises to religious communities and orders, exempting their institutions from taxation or even import duties, and granting to ecclesiastics immunity of person, domicile, and exercise of functions. These religious concessions have been based upon what was felt by the Turks themselves to be an internal necessity for a state founded upon the Koran, namely, the provision of a *modus vivendi* in the presence of non-Moslems, for whom the Koran provided no legal status in keeping with the demands of progress and modern civilization. It has been maintained that the Koran prohibits peaceful relations between true believers and non-Mohammedans living on Moslem soil. The Turkish rulers, seeing the necessity of avoiding friction with their Christian subjects and with foreign Powers, seem to have resorted to extra-territoriality as a device for relieving their own consciences in relaxing the severity of the Multeka or canon of Turkish law.

It is true that many privileges which Turkey granted long years ago as a matter of expediency or in a spirit of liberality or indifference to their value have during her decline been incorporated as rights in treaties with foreign governments. These treaties or diplomatic contracts were not infrequently obtained from Turkey *under duress* by foreign countries which did not scruple to turn her weakness to selfish advantage. In 1830 the United States made its first treaty with Turkey. This contained the "favored nation" clause, and by it we obtained the same extra-territorial rights as the great European nations.

For many years Turkey has been restive under these restrictions of her sovereignty. They have been galling to her national pride, have injured her prestige, and have sapped her economic strength and development. The United States has from time to time voluntarily yielded some of these extra-territorial rights at the request of Turkey and as a matter of fairness; but the European countries, as a rule, have been loth to release Turkey from any of her engagements without a substantial *quid pro quo*. Often the "*quid*" demanded in the shape of commercial or diplomatic advantages has been worth more than the "*quo*."

Such being the origin and character of the Capitulations, it is not hard to understand, and even to justify, the action of Turkey from the standpoint of a self-respecting sovereign power. She has undertaken to do at a stroke of the pen what Japan secured through the negotiation of new treaties after winning her spurs in the wars with China and with Russia. Turkey is not depending upon her spurs for the success of this bold move so much as upon the present pandemonium in Europe and the preoccupation of the Christian Powers with their own troubles until she is able to get on her feet.

The question arises whether this action of Turkey will imperil the essential rights either of her own non-Moslem subjects or of foreigners in Turkey. Whether good or evil comes of it depends primarily on Turkey, but also on the treatment accorded to her, in this crisis of her development, by other countries. The full exercise of sovereignty will throw upon her full responsibility. The Ottoman Government has accompanied the abrogation of the Capitulations with assurances to this effect.

Pessimists may claim that there is no hope for Turkey because she is founded upon the Koran, and the Koran is unchanged and unchangeable. While the Koran cannot change, its interpretation, like that of the Bible, can become more enlightened. That this has actually taken place is shown by the new Constitution adopted in 1908 by a bloodless revolution that commanded the admiration of the world. This Constitution provides for a responsible Ministry, a Senate, a Chamber of Deputies, the right of public meeting, freedom of the press, the appointment of judges for life, compulsory education, religious liberty, and a long list of other rights and privileges belonging to an enlightened and free government. To this Constitution the Sultan swore fidelity upon the Koran

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itself. The Sheik-ul-Islam, the supreme high priest of the Mohammedan faith, exhibited to the people in Constantinople the book upon which this oath was taken. He even went so far as to declare officially that it is the spirit of Islam to give the fullest religious freedom to all subjects of the Empire, and to guarantee constitutional justice and liberty. The Young Turk movement (more properly interpreted New Turk, for it contains many gray-haired patriots) brought in the new Constitution, and this movement is now more firmly established than ever before.

It is only fair to the Young Turks to say that their progress in reform during the last six years would have been much greater if as Turkey was rising to her feet she had not been knocked down, first by Austria, who seized Bosnia and Herzegovina, then by Italy, who tore away Tripoli, and lastly by the Balkan States.

There is no reason to fear that Turkey's action means disaster or serious embarrassment to the interests of Americans in Turkey. These interests are primarily philanthropic and educational, and the present Turkish leaders well understand that the purpose of America is only disinterested and friendly. As Talcott Williams has well said: "Many causes have combined, many factors are present, many influences have turned the hearts of men through that Empire (Turkey); but if we ask ourselves what the governing and final factor is which has brought about the first of the world's bloodless revolutions, which has seen a people divided and dissevered by creed, by race, by language, by every conceivable difference which can separate the sons and daughters of men, suddenly act together—we do ill if we forget that for eighty years the American missionaries have been laying the foundations and preaching the doctrine which makes free government possible."

It would therefore seem that the policy to be pursued by the United States, in view of Turkey's action, should be, without waiving any treaty or other rights, to *withhold protest* against Turkey's action, on condition that, and so long as, no essential rights of Americans are infringed. Turkey should be plainly told that we will hold her up to giving full justice according to modern standards. We should demand the same treatment that our citizens receive in other countries and that we accord the Turks in our own.

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*The following letter states with great clearness and force the objections to the abolition of the Capitulations. It comes from one who is familiar with the subject and is interested in and a friend of the work of the missionaries, educators, and physicians in Turkey.—*THE EDITORS.

I am convinced that Turkey is not ready to assume responsibility for the removal of extra-territoriality, for the following, among other, reasons:

1. Her laws are based upon the Koran, which, in fact, is the last court of appeal. The law of the Koran is not accepted by Christian nations. Hence Turkey and the Christians, and, for that matter, all other non-Moslem countries, would have no common standard for adjusting differences.

2. The courts of Turkey are insufferably corrupt, controlled by bribes and terrorism.

3. Her prisons are as bad as her courts.

4. No Mohammedan-governed country can recognize equal rights of Moslems and non-Moslems before the law.

5. Turkey has few trained and trustworthy administrators even for the execution of Moslem law, as the inner history of the past three years amply demonstrates. Enlightened Mohammedans have repeatedly and with good reason declared: 'We have no government.' If Turkey's Moslem subjects cry out against their own Government, how could others accept it as satisfactory!

6. The traditional animosities between Mohammedans, Armenians, and Greeks would make the position of members of these Christian races, naturalized in other countries, intolerable upon their return to Turkey.

7. No Mohammedan country has ever entered the sisterhood of nations, nor can it do so unless it abandons Islam as the foundation of its law and order and adopts a constitution that recognizes the equal rights of all, and demonstrates its ability to administer that constitution in accordance with the traditions and laws of Christian nations.

Turkey is not ready to meet these conditions, and so is unprepared to assume responsibility for removing extra-territorial privileges from citizens of other countries.

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# WHO PAYS?

## BY EDNA VALENTINE TRAPNELL

Drum and trumpet and banner, banner and trumpet and drum!
Tramp, tramp, through the city streets the new-listed armies come.
Song and laugh on the transports steaming under the stars,
Wet eyes star-blind of those behind who pay for the nations' wars—
(The women who pay and have paid, dear Lord, for immemorial wars).

Cheers and shouts greet the headlines that tell of the battles won.
Who remembers the death-wrecked bodies motionless under the sun?
"Victory stood to our banners, only a handful lost—"
Only! We bore those bodies, and we know what bodies cost!
(Mothers and wives of the soldiers dead—who better can gauge the cost?)

Man is blinded by passion, by glory or gold or power.
Shall we not see more clearly when it comes to the woman's hour?
Before we loose hell's lightning that shall prove a cause through strife,
Shall we not weigh the price we pay when the payment's in human life?
(Dear Lord, we know by each birth-throe the value of human life.)

Counselors, kings, and rulers, ye take what ye cannot give.
Can ye say to the things in the trenches, "Be whole, rise up and live"?
Do ye know—who have killed your thousands by a word from a death-tipped pen—
One little pang of the cost to those who breed you your fighting men?
(Who pays, dear Lord, for their bodies and souls but the mothers and wives of men?)

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WHO PAYS?

Cartoon drawn for The Outlook by W. C. Morris

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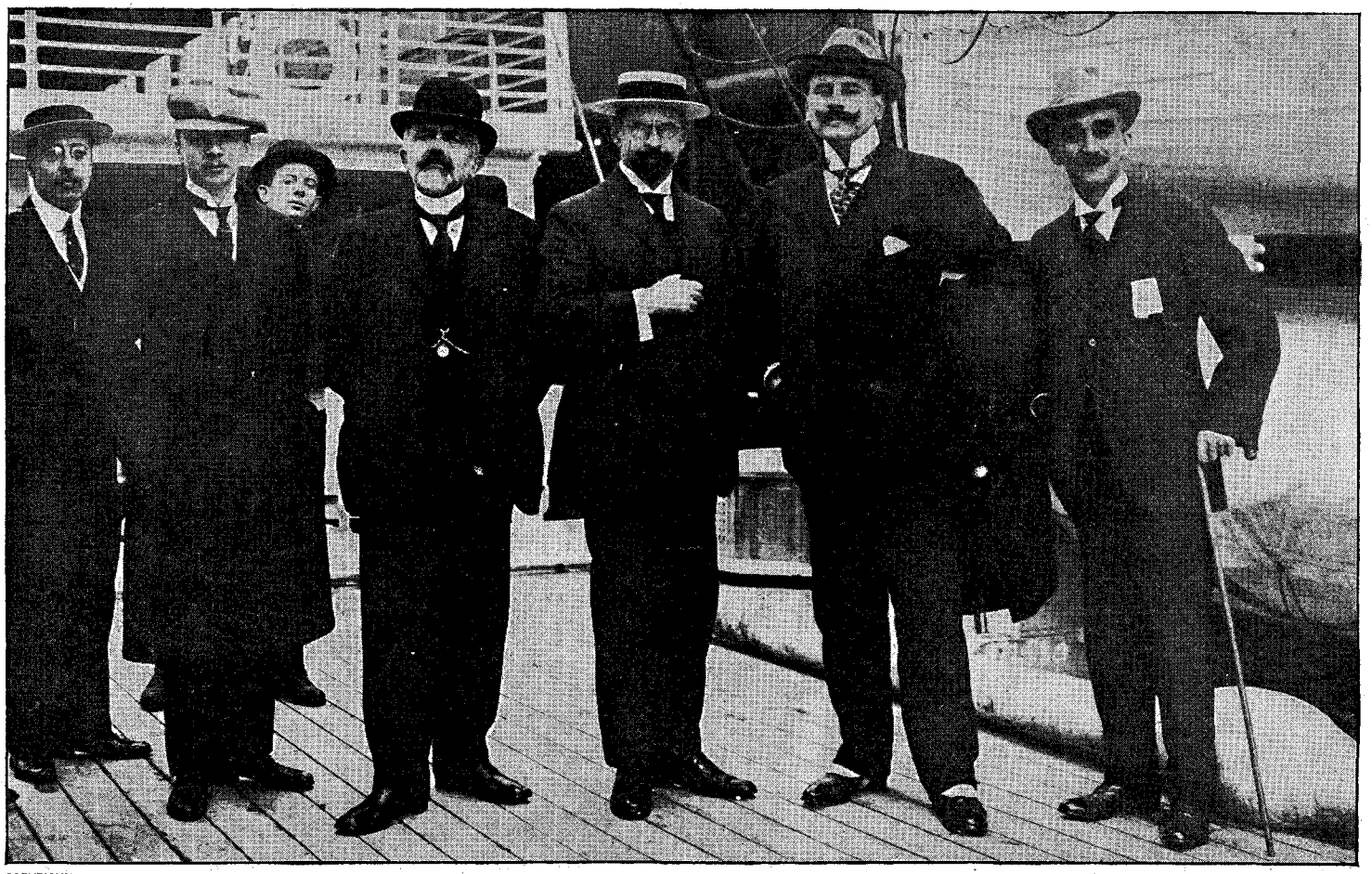

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BELGIUM PROTESTS AGAINST GERMAN METHODS OF WARFARE

The Committee appointed by the Belgian King to protest to President Wilson against the kind of warfare that, as alleged, Germany has carried on in Belgium, arrived in the United States a few days ago. As photographed in the above picture, the members of the Committee are (left to right): Count Louis de Lichtervelde, M. de Sadeleer, M. Vandervelde, M. Henry Carton de Wiart (Minister of Justice), and M. Hymans

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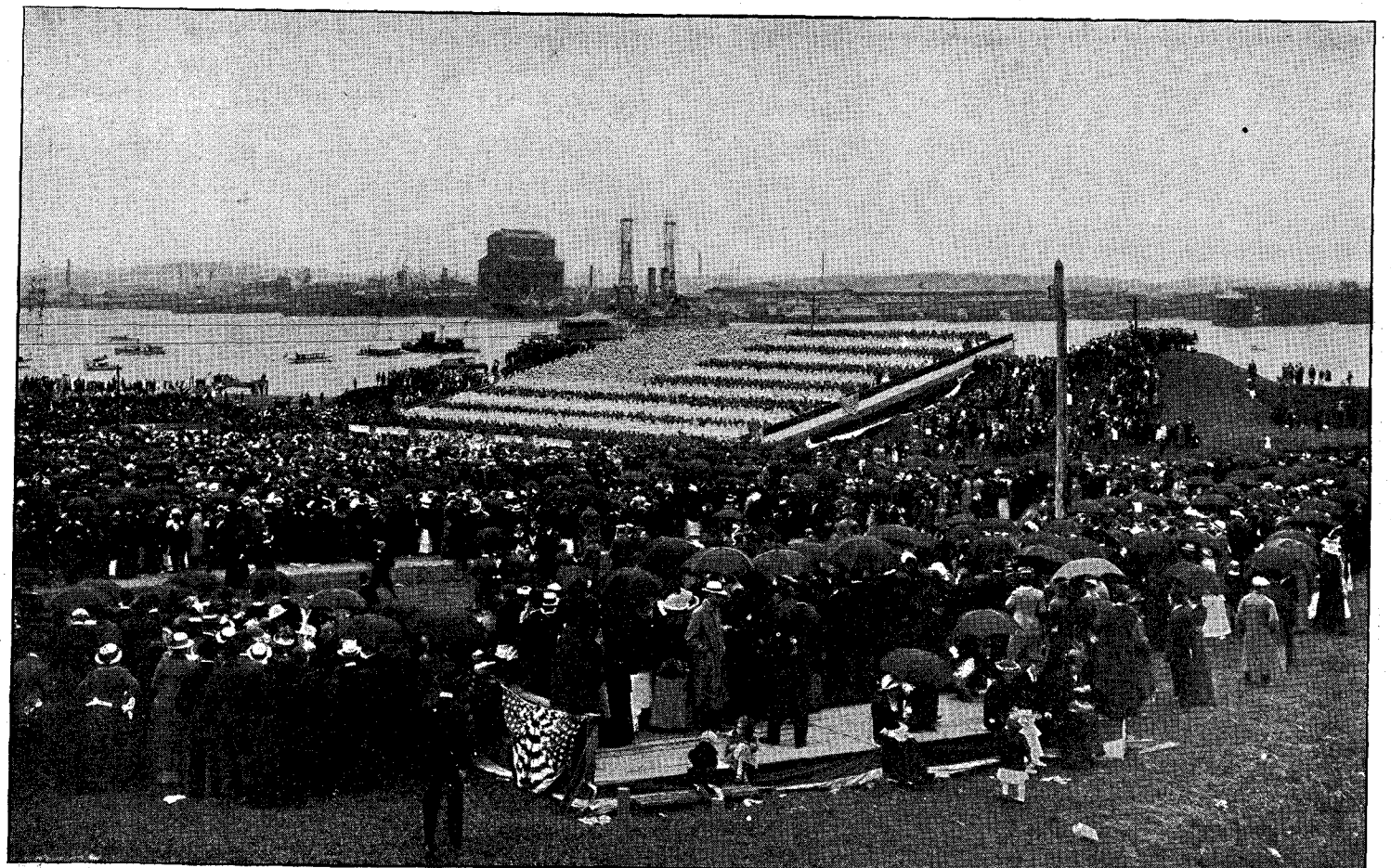

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THE HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY OF OUR NATIONAL SONG

The "Star-Spangled Banner" was written in Baltimore a century ago by Francis Scott Key, and the hundredth anniversary of the event has just been celebrated. One of the features of the celebration was the representation of a mammoth star-spangled banner formed by grouping over six thousand school-children, as shown in the picture. This animate flag sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" to the accompaniment of a brass band of 250 pieces and the cheers of an audience of many thousands of people. The battle-ship Maine is seen in the background. Comment on this centennial celebration will be found on our editorial pages

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WATERLOO'S MEMORY EFFACED

Next year will be the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, when the French and British forces were locked together in a death struggle. This year, with its combats on the same soil, brings France and Great Britain into each other's arms as allies. The photograph shows a wounded Scotch Highlander being carried by two French porters to a homeward-bound steamer

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# THE WORLD WAR: ITS TRAGEDIES AND ITS LESSONS

## BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

OUR country stands well-nigh alone among the great civilized Powers in being unshaken by the present world-wide war. For this we should be humbly and profoundly grateful. All of us on this continent ought to appreciate how fortunate we are that we of the Western world have been free from the working of the causes which have produced the bitter and vindictive hatred among the great military Powers of the Old World. We owe this immunity primarily to the policies grouped together under the title of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is as vital to the interests of this hemisphere to-day as it ever has been. Nations like Brazil, Argentina, and Chile are as deeply concerned in its maintenance as we are ourselves.

We of the United States have a twofold duty in this crisis. We must profit by reading aright the lesson writ in fire and steel before our eyes, and therefore we must safeguard our own future against the onfall of any similar disaster. Moreover, we must not only stand ready to act as an instrument for the achievement of a just peace if or when the opportunity arises, but also do whatever we can to formulate and secure adhesion to some kind of efficient international agreement whereby the chances of the recurrence of such world-wide disaster shall at least be minimized. To serve these various ends we, all of us, without regard to party differences, must stand ready loyally to support the Administration, asking nothing except that the policy be one that in truth and in fact tells for the honor and interest of our Nation, and in truth and in fact is helpful to the cause of a permanent and righteous world peace.

Of course peace is worthless unless it serves the cause of righteousness. Peace which consecrates militarism is of small service. Peace obtained by crushing the liberty and life of just and unoffending peoples is as cruel as the most cruel war. It should ever be our honorable effort to serve one of the world's most vital needs by doing all in our power to bring about conditions which will give some effective protection to weak or small nations which themselves keep order and act with justice toward the rest of mankind. There can be no higher international duty than to safeguard the existence and independence of industrious, orderly states, with a high personal and national standard of conduct, but without the military force of the Great Powers; states, for instance, such as Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Uruguay, and others. A peace which left Belgium's wrongs unredressed and which did not provide against the recurrence of such wrongs as those from which she has suffered would not be a real peace.

As regards the actions of most of the combatants in the hideous world-wide war now raging, it is possible sincerely to take and defend either of the opposite views concerning their actions. The causes of any such great and terrible contest almost always lie far back in the past, and the seeming immediate cause is usually itself in major part merely an effect of many preceding causes. The assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne was partly or largely due to the existence of political and often murderous secret societies in Servia which the Servian Government did not suppress; and it did not suppress them because the "bondage" of the men and women of the Servian race in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria was such a source of ever-present irritation to the Servians that their own Government was powerless to restrain them. Strong arguments can be advanced on both the Austrian and the Servian sides as regards this initial cause of the present world-wide war.

Again, when once the war was started between Austria and Servia, it can well be argued that it was impossible for Russia not to take part. Had she not done so, she would have forfeited her claims to the leadership of the smaller Slav peoples; and the leading Russian liberals enthusiastically support the Russian Government in this matter, asserting that Russia's triumph in this particular struggle means a check to militarism, a stride towards greater freedom, and an advance in justice towards the Pole,



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the Jew, the Finn, and the people of the Caucasus.

When Russia took part, it may well be argued that it was impossible for Germany not to come to the defense of Austria, and that disaster would surely have attended her arms had she not followed the course she actually did follow as regards her opponents on her western frontier. As for her wonderful efficiency—her equipment, the foresight and decision of her General Staff, her instantaneous action, her indomitable persistence—there can be nothing but the praise and admiration due a stern, virile, and masterful people, a people entitled to hearty respect for their patriotism and far-seeing self-devotion.

Yet again, it is utterly impossible to see how France could have acted otherwise than as she did act. She had done nothing to provoke the crisis, even although it be admitted that in the end she was certain to side with Russia. War was not declared by her, but against her, and she could not have escaped it save by having pursued in the past, and by willingness to pursue in the future, a course which would have left her as helpless as Luxemburg—and Luxemburg's fate shows that helplessness does not offer the smallest guarantee of peace.

When once Belgium was invaded, every circumstance of national honor and interest forced England to act precisely as she did act. She could not have held up her head among nations had she acted otherwise. In particular, she is entitled to the praise of all true lovers of peace, for it is only by action such as she took that neutrality treaties and treaties guaranteeing the rights of small powers will ever be given any value. The actions of Sir Edward Grey as he guided Britain's foreign policy showed adherence to lofty standards of right combined with firmness of courage under great strain. The British position, and incidentally the German position, are tersely stated in the following extract from the report of Sir Edward Goschen, who at the outset of the war was British Ambassador in Berlin. The report, in speaking of the interview between the Ambassador and the German Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, says:

> The Chancellor [spoke] about twenty minutes. He said the step taken by Great Britain was terrible to a degree. Just for a word, "neutrality," a word which in war time had been so often disregarded, just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation. What we had done was unthinkable. It was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants.
>
> I protested strongly against this statement, and said that in the same way as he wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life or death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of life or death for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. A solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in England's engagement in the future?

There is one nation, however, as to which there is no room for difference of opinion, whether we consider her wrongs or the justice of her actions. It seems to me impossible that any man can fail to feel the deepest sympathy with a nation which is absolutely guiltless of any wrong-doing, which has given proof of high valor, and yet which has suffered terribly, and which, if there is any meaning in the words "right" and "wrong," has suffered wrongfully. Belgium is not in the smallest degree responsible for any of the conditions that during the last half-century have been at work to impress a certain fatalistic stamp upon those actions of Austria, Russia, Germany, and France which have rendered this war inevitable. No European nation has had anything whatever to fear from Belgium. There was not the smallest danger of her making any aggressive movement, not even the slightest aggressive movement, against any one of her neighbors. Her population was mainly industrial and was absorbed in peaceful business. Her people were thrifty, hard-working, highly civilized, and in no way aggressive. She owed her national existence to the desire to create an absolutely neutral state. Her neutrality had been solemnly guaranteed by the great Powers, including Germany as well as England and France.

Suddenly, and out of a clear sky, her territory was invaded by an overwhelming German army. According to the newspaper reports, it was admitted in the Reichstag by German members that this act was "wrongful." Of course, if there is any meaning to the words "right" and "wrong" in international matters, the act was wrong. The men who shape German policy take the

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ground that in matters of vital national moment there are no such things as abstract right and wrong, and that when a great nation is struggling for its existence it can no more consider the rights of neutral powers than it can consider the rights of its own citizens as these rights are construed in times of peace, and that everything must bend before the supreme law of national self-preservation. Whatever we may think of the morality of this plea, it is certain that almost all great nations have in time past again and again acted in accordance with it. England's conduct toward Denmark in the Napoleonic wars, and the conduct of both England and France toward us during those same wars, admit only of this species of justification; and with less excuse the same is true of our conduct toward Spain in Florida nearly a century ago. I wish it explicitly understood that I am not at this time passing judgment one way or the other upon Germany for what she did to Belgium. But I do wish to point out just what was done, and to emphasize Belgium's absolute innocence and the horrible suffering and disaster that have overwhelmed her in spite of such innocence. And I wish to do this so that we as a nation may learn aright the lessons taught by the dreadful Belgian tragedy.

Germany's attack on Belgium was not due to any sudden impulse. It had been carefully planned for a score of years, on the assumption that the treaty of neutrality was, as Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg observed, nothing but "paper," and that the question of breaking or keeping it was to be considered solely from the standpoint of Germany's interest. The German railways up to the Belgian border are for the most part military roads, which have been double-tracked with a view to precisely the overwhelming attack that has just been delivered into and through Belgium. The great German military text-books, such as that of Bernhardi, in discussing and studying possible German campaigns against Russia and France, have treated advances through Belgium or Switzerland exactly as they have treated possible advances through German territory, it being assumed by the writers and by all for whom they wrote that no efficient rulers or military men would for a second consider a neutrality treaty or any other kind of treaty if it became to the self-interest of a party to break it. It must be remembered that the German system in no way limits its disregard of conventions to disregard of neutrality treaties. For example, in General von Bernhardi's book, in speaking of naval warfare, he lays down the following rule: "Sometimes in peace even, if there is no other means of defending one's self against a superior force, it will be advisable to attack the enemy by torpedo and submarine boats, and to inflict upon him unexpected losses. . . . War upon the enemy's trade must also be conducted as ruthlessly as possible, since only then, in addition to the material damage inflicted upon the enemy, the necessary terror is spread among the merchant marine, which is even more important than the capture of actual prizes. A certain amount of terrorism must be practiced on the sea, making peaceful tradesmen stay in safe harbors."

Belgium has felt the full effect of the practical application of these principles, and Germany has profited by them exactly as her statesmen and soldiers believed she would profit. They have believed that the material gain of trampling on Belgium would more than offset any material opposition which the act would arouse, and they treat with the utter and contemptuous derision which it deserves the mere pacificist clamor against wrong which is unaccompanied by the intention and effort to redress wrong by force.

The Belgians, when invaded, valiantly defended themselves. They acted precisely as Andreas Hofer and his Tyrolese, and Koerner and the leaders of the North German Tugenbund, acted in their day; and their fate has been the fate of Andreas Hofer, who was shot after his capture, and of Koerner, who was shot in battle. They fought valiantly, and they were overcome. They were then stamped under foot. Probably it is physically impossible for our people, living softly and at ease, to visualize to themselves the dreadful woe that has come upon the people of Belgium, and especially upon the poor people. Let each man think of his neighbors—of the carpenter, the station-agent, the day laborer, the farmer, the grocer—who are round about him, and think of these men deprived of their all, their homes destroyed, their sons dead or prisoners, their wives and children half starved, overcome with fatigue and horror, stumbling their way to some city of refuge, and when they have reached it, finding air-ships wrecking the houses with bombs and destroying women and children. The King shared the toil and danger of the fighting men; the Queen and

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her children suffered as other mothers and children suffered.

I am not now discussing the question whether or not it is proper and necessary to use air-ships as they were used against Antwerp, and as under like circumstances they would undoubtedly be used against New York or Chicago. I am merely calling attention to what has actually been done in Belgium, in accordance with what the Germans unquestionably sincerely believe to be the course of conduct necessitated by Germany's struggle for life. But Germany's need to struggle for her life does not make it any easier for the Belgians to suffer death. Nor am I now discussing whether or not it is moral to have utterly destroyed Louvain, and to have imposed such paralyzing pecuniary fines as that upon Brussels, backed by the statement, as alleged, that the art treasures will be removed if the fine is not paid. All that is necessary for my present purpose is to point out the obvious fact that the Germans are in Belgium from no fault of the Belgians, but purely because the Germans deemed it to their vital interest to violate Belgium's rights. Therefore the ultimate responsibility for what has occurred at Louvain and what has occurred and is occurring in Brussels rests in no way upon Belgium. The invasion could have been averted by no action of Belgium that was consistent with her honor and self-respect. The Belgians would have been less than men had they not defended themselves and their country. For this, and for this only, they are suffering, somewhat as my own German ancestors suffered when Turenne ravaged the Palatinate, somewhat as my Irish ancestors suffered in the struggles that attended the conquests and reconquests of Ireland in the days of Cromwell and William. The suffering is by no means as great, but it is very great, and it is altogether too nearly akin to what occurred in the seventeenth century for us of the twentieth century to feel overmuch pleased with the amount of advance that has been made. It is neither necessary nor at the present time possible to sift from the charges, countercharges, and denials the exact facts as to the acts alleged to have been committed in various places. The prime fact as regards Belgium is that Belgium was an entirely peaceful and genuinely neutral power which had been guilty of no offense whatever. What has befallen her is due to the further fact that a great, highly civilized military power deemed that its own vital interests rendered imperative the infliction of this suffering on an inoffensive although valiant and patriotic little nation.

I think, at any rate I hope, I have rendered it plain that I am not now criticising, that I am not passing judgment one way or the other, upon Germany's action. I admire and respect the German people. I am proud of the German blood in my veins. When a nation feels that the issue of a contest in which, from whatever reason, it finds itself engaged will be national life or death, it is inevitable that it should act so as to save itself from death and to perpetuate its life. What has occurred to Belgium is precisely what would occur under similar conditions to us, unless we were able to show that the action would be dangerous. If any Old World military power, European or Asiatic, were engaged in war, and deemed such action necessary *and safe*, it would at once seize the Panama Canal, or the Danish or Dutch West Indies, or Magdalena Bay, exactly as Belgium and Luxemburg have been overrun by Germany, as Korea has been seized by Japan. They would certainly so act if they thought we would in any real crisis pay heed to the political theories resulting in the all-inclusive arbitration treaties that have just been negotiated in Washington. They would refrain from so acting only if they knew we would instantly and resolutely act ourselves in such manner as to forestall and defeat their action.

The rights and wrongs of these cases where nations violate the rules of abstract morality in order to meet their own vital needs can be precisely determined only when all the facts are known and when men's blood is cool. I am not at this time striving to lay down a general law, although I believe that it is imperative, in the interest of civilization, to create international conditions which shall neither require nor permit such action in the future. I am not at this time criticising the particular actions of which I speak. But I do wish to point out just what these actions are, and just what lessons we of the United States should learn from them so far as our own future is concerned.

There are several such lessons. One is how complicated instead of how simple it is to decide what course we ought to follow as

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regards any given action supposed to be in the interest of peace. Of course I am speaking of the thing and not the name when I speak of peace. The ultra-pacificists are capable of taking any position, yet I suppose that few among them now hold that there was value in the "peace" which was obtained by the concert of European Powers when they prevented interference with Turkey while the Turks butchered some hundreds of thousands of Armenian men, women, and children. In the same way I do not suppose that even the ultra-pacificists really feel that "peace" is triumphant in Belgium at the present moment. A deputation of Belgians has arrived in this country to invoke our assistance in the time of their dreadful need. What action our Government can or will take I know not. It has been announced that no action can be taken that will interfere with our entire neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other. Our first duty is to hold ourselves ready to do whatever the changing circumstances demand in order to protect our own interests in the present and in the future; although, for my own part, I desire to add to this statement the proviso that under no circumstances must we do anything dishonorable, especially towards unoffending weaker nations. Neutrality may be of prime necessity in order to preserve our own interests, to maintain peace in so much of the world as is not affected by the war, and to conserve our influence for helping toward the re-establishment of general peace when the time comes; for if any outside Power is able at such time to be the medium for bringing peace, it is more likely to be the United States than any other. But we pay the penalty of this action on behalf of peace for ourselves, and possibly for others in the future, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians in the present. We can maintain our neutrality only by refusal to do anything to aid unoffending weak powers which are dragged into the gulf of bloodshed and misery through no fault of their own. Of course it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose; and very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her, and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women, and children of Belgium is very real. Nevertheless, this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent National duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference. But it is a grim comment on the professional pacificist theories as hitherto developed that our duty to preserve peace for ourselves may necessarily mean the abandonment of all effective effort to secure peace for other unoffending nations which through no fault of their own are dragged into the war.

The next lesson we should learn is of far more immediate consequence to us than speculations about peace in the abstract. Our people should wake up to the fact that it is a poor thing to live in a fool's paradise. What has occurred in this war ought to bring home to everybody what has of course long been known to all really well-informed men who were willing to face the truth, and not try to dodge it. Until some method is devised of putting effective force behind arbitration and neutrality treaties neither these treaties nor the vague and elastic body of custom which is misleadingly termed international law will have any real effect in any serious crisis between us and any save perhaps one or two of the Great Powers. The average great military power looks at these matters purely from the standpoint of its own interests. At this moment, for instance, Japan has declared war on Germany. She has paid scrupulous regard to our own rights and feelings in the matter. The contention that she is acting in a spirit of mere disinterested altruism need not be considered. She believes that she has wrongs to redress and strong national interests to preserve. Nineteen years ago Germany joined with Russia to check Japan's progress after her victorious war with China, and has since then itself built up a German colonial possession on Chinese soil. Doubtless the Japanese have never for one moment forgotten this act of Germany. Doubtless they also regard the presence of a strong European military power in China so near to Korea and Manchuria as a menace to Japan's national life. With businesslike coolness the soldierly statesmen of Nippon have

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taken the chance which offered itself of at little cost retaliating for the injury inflicted upon them in the past and removing an obstacle to their future dominance in eastern Asia. Korea is absolutely Japan's. To be sure, by treaty it was solemnly covenanted that Korea should remain independent. But Korea was itself helpless to enforce the treaty, and it was out of the question to suppose that any other nation with no interest of its own at stake would attempt to do for the Koreans what they were utterly unable to do for themselves. Moreover, the treaty rested on the false assumption that Korea could govern herself well. It had already been shown that she could not in any real sense govern herself at all. Japan could not afford to see Korea in the hands of a great foreign Power. She regarded her duty to her children and her children's children as overriding her treaty obligations. Therefore, when Japan thought the right time had come, it calmly tore up the treaty and took Korea, with the polite and businesslike efficiency it had already shown in dealing with Russia, and was afterwards to show in dealing with Germany. The treaty, when tested, proved as utterly worthless as our own recent all-inclusive arbitration treaties—and worthlessness can go no further.

Hysteria does not tend towards edification; and in this country hysteria is unfortunately too often the earmark of the ultra-pacificist. Surely at this time there is more reason than ever to remember Professor Lounsbury's remark concerning the "infinite capacity of the human brain to withstand the introduction of knowledge." The comments of some doubtless well-meaning citizens of our own country upon the lessons taught by this terrible cataclysm of war are really inexplicable to any man who forgets the truth that Professor Lounsbury thus set forth. A writer of articles for a newspaper syndicate the other day stated that Germany was being opposed by the rest of the world because it had "inspired fear." This thesis can, of course, be sustained. But Belgium has inspired no fear. Yet it has suffered infinitely more than Germany. Luxemburg inspired no fear. Yet it has been quietly taken possession of by Germany. The writer in question would find it puzzling to point out the particulars in which Belgium and Luxemburg—not to speak of China and Korea—are at this moment better off than Germany. Of course they are worse off; and this because Germany *has* "inspired fear," and they have not. Nevertheless, this writer drew the conclusion that "fear" was the only emotion which ought not to be inspired; and he advocated our abandonment of battle-ships and other means of defense, so that we might never inspire "fear" in any one. He forgot that, while it is a bad thing to inspire fear, it is a much worse thing to inspire contempt. Another newspaper writer pointed out that on the frontier between us and Canada there were no forts, and yet peace obtained; and drew the conclusion that forts and armed forces were inimical to national safety. This worthy soul evidently did not know that Luxemburg had no forts or armed forces, and therefore succumbed without a protest of any kind. If he does not admire the heroism of the Belgians and prefer it to the tame submission of the Luxemburgers, then this writer is himself unfit to live as a free man in a free country. The crown of ineptitude, however, was reached by an editor who announced, in praising the recent all-inclusive peace treaties, that "had their like been in existence between some of the European nations two weeks ago, the world might have been spared the Great War." It is rather hard to deal seriously with such a supposition. At this very moment the utter worthlessness of even the rational treaties drawn to protect Belgium and Luxemburg has been shown. To suppose that under such conditions a bundle of bits of paper representing mere verbiage, with no guarantee, would count for anything whatever in a great crisis is to show ourselves unfit to control the destinies of a great, just, and self-respecting people.

These writers wish us to abandon all means of defending ourselves. Some of them advocate our abandoning the building of an efficient fleet. Yet at this moment Great Britain owes it that she is not in worse plight than Belgium solely to the fact that with far-sighted wisdom her statesmen have maintained her navy at the highest point of efficiency. At this moment the Japanese have declared war against the Germans, and hostilities are taking place in what but twenty years ago was Chinese territory, and what by treaty is unquestionably Chinese territory to-day. China has protested against the Japanese violation of Chinese neutrality in its operations against the Germans, but no heed has been paid to the protest, for China cannot back the protest by the use of armed force. Moreover, as China is reported to

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have pointed out to Germany, the latter Power had violated Chinese neutrality just as Japan had done. Very possibly the writers above alluded to were sincere in their belief that they were advocating what was patriotic and wise when they urged that the United States make itself utterly defenseless so as to avoid giving an excuse for aggression. Yet these writers ought to have known that during their own lifetime China has been utterly defenseless, and yet has suffered from aggression after aggression. Large portions of its territory are now in the possession of Russia, of Japan, of Germany, of France, of England. The great war between Russia and Japan was fought on what was nominally Chinese territory. At present, because a few weeks ago Servian assassins murdered the heir to the Austrian monarchy, Japan is fighting Germany on Chinese territory. Luxemburg has been absolutely powerless and defenseless, has had no soldiers and no forts. It is off the map at this moment. Not only are none of the belligerents thinking about its rights, but no neutral is thinking about its rights, and this simply because Luxemburg could not defend itself. It is our duty to be patient with every kind of folly, but it is hard for a good American, for a man to whom his country is dear, and who reveres the memories of Washington and Lincoln, to be entirely patient with the kind of folly that advocates reducing this country to the position of China and Luxemburg.

There is even a possible question whether we are not ourselves, like other neutral powers, violating obligations which we have explicitly or implicitly assumed in the Hague treaties. In Chapter I of the Convention defining the rights and duties of neutrals, the Tenth Article reads: "The fact of a neutral power resisting even by force attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act." The precise worth of this particular provision—and of all other provisions in all these treaties, save as they are backed by force—is beautifully illustrated by what has befallen Belgium at this time. All that she has suffered has been exactly and precisely because she did "resist by force attempts to violate her neutrality." In theory, so far as paper treaties go, she cannot be considered to have committed "hostile acts." In practice, Germany so treats her acts. Under actual conditions this Hague guarantee would excite laughter were not the tragedy such as to move us to tears instead.

One of the main lessons to learn from this war is embodied in the homely proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick." Persistently only half of this proverb has been quoted in deriding the men who wish to safeguard our National interest and honor. Persistently the effort has been made to insist that those who advocate keeping our country able to defend its rights are merely adopting "the policy of the big stick." In reality, we lay equal emphasis on the fact that it is necessary to speak softly; in other words, that it is necessary to be respectful toward all people and scrupulously to refrain from wronging them, while at the same time keeping ourselves in condition to prevent wrong being done to us. If a nation does not in this sense speak softly, then sooner or later the policy of the big stick is certain to result in war. But what befell Luxemburg six weeks ago, what has befallen China again and again during the past quarter of a century, shows that no amount of speaking softly will save any people which does not carry a big stick.

I earnestly believe in peace. I respect every sincere and upright man who with wisdom and proper sense of perspective does all he can at peace conferences, or by the negotiation of reasonable arbitration treaties, or by the utilization of the Hague International Court in proper cases, to minimize the chances of war among civilized nations, and to give the opportunity to use other means than war for the settlement of international disputes. A little good can come from all these movements, but only on condition that there is no attempt made to erect shams and say they are truths or to pretend to be doing what we are not doing. A little good can come, but only on condition that nations remember that as yet arbitration treaties, neutrality treaties, treaties for the erection of independent tribunals, treaties of all kinds, can do nothing to save a nation in great crises unless that nation is able to defend its own honor, its own vital interests.

America should have a coherent policy of action toward foreign powers, and this should primarily be based on the determination never to give offense when it can be avoided, always to treat other nations justly and courteously, and, as long as present conditions exist, to be prepared to defend our own rights ourselves. No other nation will defend them for us. No paper guarantee or treaty will be worth the paper on which it is written if it becomes to the interest of some

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other power to violate it, unless we have strength, and courage and ability to use that strength, back of the treaty. Every public man, every writer who speaks with wanton offensiveness of a foreign power or of a foreign people, whether he attacks England or France or Germany, whether he assails the Russians or the Japanese, is doing an injury to the whole American body politic. We have plenty of shortcomings at home to correct before we start out to criticise the shortcomings of others. Now and then it becomes imperatively necessary in the interests of humanity, or in our own vital interest, to act in a manner which will cause offense to some other power. This is a lamentable necessity; but when the necessity arises we must meet it and act as we are honorably bound to act, no matter what offense is given. We must always weigh well our duties in such a case, and consider the rights of others as well as our own rights, in the interest of the world at large. If after such consideration it is evident that we are bound to act along a certain line of policy, then it is mere weakness to refrain from doing so because offense is thereby given. But we must never act wantonly or brutally, or without regard to the essentials of genuine morality—a morality considering our interests as well as the interests of others, and considering the interests of future generations as well as of the present generation. We must so conduct ourselves that every big nation and every little nation that behaves itself shall never have to think of us with fear, and shall have confidence not only in our justice but in our courtesy. Submission to wrong-doing on our part would be mere weakness and would invite and insure disaster. We must not submit to wrong done to our honor or to our vital National interests. But we must be scrupulously careful always to speak with courtesy and self-restraint to others, always to act decently to others, and to give no nation any justification for believing that it has anything to fear from us as long as it behaves with decency and uprightness.

Above all, let us avoid the policy of peace with insult, the policy of unpreparedness to defend our rights, with inability to restrain our representatives from doing wrong to or publicly speaking ill of others. The worst policy for the United States is to combine the unbridled tongue with the unready hand.

We in this country have of course come lamentably short of our ideals, but our ideals have been high, and at times we have measurably realized them. Last spring some of our foes in Vera Cruz were guilty of the same misconduct as that because of the existence of which, as is alleged, Louvain was destroyed; but it never entered our heads to destroy Vera Cruz. When we found that our share of the Chinese indemnity paid us after the Boxer outrages was excessive, we returned it to China. When we gave our word to make Cuba independent, we kept our word—and none of the chancelleries of Europe thought we would do so. From the beginning we have recognized what is taught in the words of Washington, and again in the great crisis of our National life in the words of Lincoln, that in the past free peoples have generally split and sunk on that great rock of difficulty caused by the fact that a government which recognizes the liberties of the people is not usually strong enough to preserve the liberties of the people against outside aggression. Washington and Lincoln believed that ours was a strong people, and therefore fit for a strong government. They believed that it was only weak peoples that had to fear strong governments, and that to us it was given to combine freedom and efficiency. They belonged among that line of statesmen and public servants whose existence has been the negation of the theory that goodness is always associated with weakness, and that strength always finds its expression in violent wrong-doing. Edward the Confessor represented exactly the type which treats weakness and virtue as interchangeable terms. His reign was the prime cause of the conquest of England. Godoy, the Spanish statesman, a century ago, by the treaties he entered into and carried out, actually earned the title of "Prince of Peace" instead of merely lecturing about it; and the result of his peacefulness was the loss by Spain of the vast regions which she then held in our country west of the Mississippi, and finally the overthrow of the Spanish national government, the setting up in Madrid of a foreign king by a foreign conqueror, and a long-drawn and incredibly destructive war. To statesmen of this kind Washington and Lincoln stand in as sharp contrast as they stand on the other side to the great absolutist chiefs such as Cæsar, Napoleon, Frederick the Great, and Cromwell. What was true of the personality of Washington and Lincoln was true of the policy they

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sought to impress upon our nation. They were just as hostile to the theory that virtue was to be confounded with weakness as to the theory that strength justified wrong-doing. No abundance of the milder virtues will save a nation that has lost the virile qualities; and, on the other hand, no admiration of strength must make us deviate from the laws of righteousness. The kind of "peace" advocated by the ultra-pacificists of 1776 would have meant that we never would have had a country; the kind of "peace" advocated by the ultra-pacificists in the early '60s would have meant the absolute destruction of the country. It would have been criminal weakness for Washington not to have fought for the independence of this country, and for Lincoln not to have fought for the preservation of the Union; just as in an infinitely smaller degree it would have been criminal weakness for us if we had permitted wrong-doing in Cuba to go on forever unchecked, or if we had failed to insist on the building of the Panama Canal in exactly the fashion that we did insist; and, above all, if we had failed to build up our navy as during the last twelve years it has been built up. No alliance, no treaty, and no easy good will of other nations will save us if we are not true to ourselves; and, on the other hand, if we wantonly give offense to others, if we excite hatred and fear, then some day we will pay a heavy penalty.

The most important lesson, therefore, for us to learn from Belgium's fate is that, as things in the world now are, we must in any great crisis trust for our national safety to our ability and willingness to defend ourselves by our own trained strength and courage. We must not wrong others; and for our own safety we must trust, not to worthless bits of paper unbacked by power, and to treaties that are fundamentally foolish, but to our own manliness and clear-sighted willingness to face facts.

There is, however, another lesson which this huge conflict may at least possibly teach. There is at least a chance that from this calamity a movement may come which will at once supplement and in the future perhaps altogether supplant the need of the kind of action so plainly indicated by the demands of the present. It is at least possible that the conflict will result in a growth of democracy in Europe, in at least a partial substitution of the rule of the people for the rule of those who esteem it their God-given right to govern the people. This, in its turn, would render it probably a little more unlikely that there would be a repetition of such disastrous warfare. I do not think that at present it would prevent the possibility of warfare. I think that in the great countries engaged, the peoples as a whole have been behind their sovereigns on both sides of this contest. Certainly the action of the Socialists in Germany, France, and Belgium, and, so far as we know, of the popular leaders in Russia, would tend to bear out the truth of this statement. But the growth of the power of the people, while it would not prevent war, would at least render it more possible than at present to make appeals which might result in some cases in coming to an accommodation based upon justice; for justice is what popular rule must be permanently based upon and must permanently seek to obtain or it will not itself be permanent.

Moreover, the horror that right-thinking citizens feel over the awful tragedies of this war can hardly fail to make sensible men take an interest in genuine peace movements and try to shape them so that they shall be more practical than at present. I most earnestly believe in every rational movement for peace. My objection is only to movements that do not in very fact tell in favor of peace or else that sacrifice righteousness to peace. Of course this includes objection to all treaties that make believe to do what, as a matter of fact, they fail to do. Under existing conditions universal and all-inclusive arbitration treaties have been utterly worthless, because where there is no power to compel nations to arbitrate, and where it is perfectly certain that some nations will pay no respect to such agreements unless they can be forced to do so, it is mere folly for others to trust to promises impossible of performance; and it is an act of positive bad faith to make these promises when it is certain that the nation making them would violate them. But this does not in the least mean that we must abandon hope of taking action which will lessen the chance of war and make it more possible to circumscribe the limits of war's devastation.

For this result we must largely trust to sheer growth in morality and intelligence among the nations themselves. For a hundred years peace has obtained between us and Great Britain. No frontier in Europe is as long as the frontier between Canada and ourselves, and yet there is not a fort, nor an

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armed force worthy of being called such, upon it. This does not result from any arbitration treaty or any other treaty. Such treaties as those now existing are as a rule observed only when they serve to make a record of conditions that already exist and which they do not create. The fact simply is that there has been such growth of good feeling and intelligence that war between us and the British Empire is literally an impossibility, and there is no more chance of military movements across the Canadian border than there is of such movement between New York and New Hampshire or Quebec and Ontario. Slowly but surely, I believe, such feelings will grow, until war between the Englishman and the German, or the Russian, or the Frenchman, or between any of them and the American, will be as unthinkable as now between the Englishman or Canadian and the American.

But something can be done to hasten this day by wise action. It may not be possible at once to have this action as drastic as would be ultimately necessary; but we should keep our purpose in view. The utter weakness of the Hague Court, and the worthlessness when strain is put upon them of most treaties, spring from the fact that at present there is no means of enforcing the carrying out of the treaty or enforcing the decision of the Court. Under such circumstances recommendations for universal disarmament stand on an intellectual par with recommendations to establish "peace" in New York City by doing away with the police. Disarmament of the free and liberty-loving nations would mean merely insuring the triumph of some barbarism or despotism, and if logically applied would mean the extinction of liberty and of all that makes civilization worth having throughout the world. But in view of what has occurred in this war, surely the time ought to be ripe for the nations to consider a great world agreement among all the civilized military powers *to back righteousness by force*. Such an agreement would establish an efficient World League for the Peace of Righteousness. Such an agreement could limit the amount to be spent on armaments and, after defining carefully the inalienable rights of each nation which were not to be transgressed by any other, could also provide that any cause of difference among them, or between one of them and one of a certain number of designated outside non-military nations, should be submitted to an international court, including citizens of all these nations, chosen not as representatives of the nations, *but as judges*—and perhaps in any given case the particular judges could be chosen by lot from the total number. To supplement and make this effectual it should be solemnly covenanted that if any nation refused to abide by the decision of such a court the others would draw the sword on behalf of peace and justice and would unitedly coerce the recalcitrant nation. This plan would not automatically bring peace, and it may be too soon to hope for its adoption; but if some such scheme could be adopted, in good faith and with a genuine purpose behind it to make it effective, then we would have come nearer to the day of world peace. World peace will not come save in some such manner as that whereby we obtain peace within the borders of each nation; that is, by the creation of reasonably impartial judges and by putting an efficient police power—that is, by putting force in efficient fashion—behind the decrees of the judges. At present each nation must in the last resort trust to its own strength if it is to preserve all that makes life worth having. At present this is imperative. This state of things can be abolished only when we put force, when we put the collective armed power of civilization, behind some body which shall with reasonable justice and equity represent the collective determination of civilization to do what is right.

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# THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE WAR

## I—THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*GERMAN Ideas of Unity.* In the whole history of mankind there has never been such an example of the terrific impact of millions of human beings, united under one flag, with one purpose, in one military organization, with one controlling will power, as in the present Germany. The Empire seems a bolt of forged steel, every fiber of which is instinct with the conception that in union, and in union only, are strength and victory. Yet a hundred and fifty years ago there was nowhere in the Western world a group of people speaking the same language and having the same national origin and traditions who seemed so far from a common national life. The process by which out of Germans came Germany is one of the liveliest of historical dramas; and it especially interests us because of the effect upon that process of the success of our own great federation in America.

The first people who wrote about the Germans found them anything but unified. Their chief pursuits seemed to be drinking mead and fighting their neighbors; or, if there were no neighbors handy, fighting each other. The first unifying principle came from without. When the Germans conquered Rome, Rome conquered the Germans, for the Empire hypnotized them with its magnificent and still unrivaled system of world government. The German chieftain, who perhaps got his place by annihilating his predecessor (something like a modern American postmaster), was dazzled by Rome and planned to be a king who could lay down the law to his fellow-citizens. So kingdoms were built up of Lombards and Franks, till Charlemagne came along and personated the unique conception of one king for the Germans, who should at the same time be Emperor of the world.

*Holy Roman Empire.* Thus was founded the Holy Roman Empire with one head, the "German Emperor in the Realm," who claimed, and sometimes exercised, dominion over Italy as well as Germany; who made dukes, reigning princes, and even kings; who was the splendid center of temporal power; equal in his field to the Pope in his field, the two together being "the two swords" ordained by the Saviour of men.

It was not in the German blood to accept such a sovereign as actual supreme ruler over the people of their tongue. They set up counter-emperors, and then combinations of other puissant lords, who at last wove a net in which the Emperor was held fast. Seven of them took upon themselves the right to name the Emperor and to tie up the candidates with promises to waive great portions of their royal powers if elected. From 1300 to 1789 the development in Germany was that of territorial princes, large and small, among which were counted scores of free cities.

After the Hapsburgs came to have the presumptive right to be elected Emperors the dignity declined. The Imperial Diet, which met at Regensburg, squabbled endlessly over unimportant questions. The Imperial courts were ignored by the princes. The Empire could not protect its own borders. The Low Countries and northern Switzerland slipped out of its grasp. It was a curious medley. Austria was the forefront of the Empire, but nearly half the Austrian dominions were not in the Empire. Little states were divided and subdivided until toward the end there was one full-grown independent country which was under legal obligation to furnish seventeen men in case the Empire went to war. The French Revolution sent to the scrap-heap this piece of obsolete machinery. The larger units "incorporated" their small neighbors, and in 1806 the Empire ceased to be.

*Advance of Prussia.* Though the ancient German Empire died, Germany lived as a great vital force, half smothered in its own confusion of governments jealous of each other. There was one German people speaking one court and literary language; one general German literature; and yet even after the pruning of the Napoleonic period there were thirty-nine governmental units, including four independent city states—Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Frankfort; the King-



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doms of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Hanover, mostly of Napoleon's creation; the Grand Duchy of Baden; and various smaller fragments of duchies and principalities. The two leading and rival powers in Germany were the Kingdom of Prussia and the Empire of Austria. The latter had lost the shadow title of German Emperor, but was President of the German Confederation formed in 1815, and by its military might and its control over small German states exercised its will on questions involving the German-speaking peoples.

Prussia, though classed as one of the five great Powers of Europe, was terribly impoverished, weakened, and dispirited by the Napoleonic wars. The little kingdom had lost many thousands of its men. Its kings were below the average of the Hohenzollern sovereigns, and it had been deliberately weakened by assigning to it provinces on the left bank of the Rhine which had never been Prussian, which were permeated by French political principles, and which were cut off from the old Brandenburg provinces by the intervening Kingdom of Hanover and other unfriendly German states. Little did the crafty diplomats of the Congress of Vienna realize that they were thus compelling the Prussians to annex the bridge between the two ends of their dominions or to be stifled. It was fifty years before Prussia contested the primacy of Austria over the rest of Germany; though, beginning about 1830, it drew the neighboring states together in a *Zollverein*, a customs union, of which some vestiges still exist in the German Empire.

A golden moment seemed to come in 1848, when a German National Parliament was held at Frankfort with the purpose of forming a general German constitution. And almost at the same moment a Slavic congress was held in Prague, with a view to bring together the various Slav elements in the Austrian Empire in opposition to the Germans. This Frankfort Parliament split on the fundamental question whether the German Austrians were to be included. A formal offer was made to King Frederick William of Prussia that he should take the headship of the new confederation, with the title of Emperor of the Germans. Neither Austria nor the South German states were ready for such a step, and Frederick William had not the military force to compel them to come in. With shame and sorrow the Prussians let the opportunity pass.

*Bismarck's Preparations.* The defeat of the Austrians by the French at Solferino in 1859 suggested that the Austrian military power had been overrated; and against it the Germans unexpectedly recruited a whole grand army in the single person of Count Otto von Bismarck. One of the stumbling-blocks in the way of German progress was the expectation that the country was to be pulled out of its low estate by a Hohenzollern or by the titled aristocracy. It was therefore an unwelcome shock when the new King William in 1861 made Bismarck his adviser and support. Never was there such a crushing disproof of the theory of sovereignty by divine right. Bismarck came of an obscure family of the Junker class—that is, the country landed aristocracy. He had been Prussian observer at the Frankfort Parliament and had learned to detest the "smallstatism" of Germany. This big and boisterous man, brought up on his country estate and in the little rural University of Göttingen, was the one German who understood the causes of his country's weakness and could contrive a remedy. From this point for about thirty years he was the greatest figure in Europe.

Bismarck's mind fathomed the inherent difficulty of the situation—namely, that Austria-Hungary, with a population of nine million Germans and twenty-six million non-Germans, was in control of the policies of thirty-five million Germans outside her boundaries. The first thing to do was to smash Austria; but that required a new military tool, which Bismarck and King William proceeded to forge. This was universal military service, by which every able-bodied young German could be called to serve for a fixed period (eventually two years) in the army. The proposition raised an uproar in the Prussian Landtag, the lower house of which absolutely refused to vote the necessary taxes; whereupon his Majesty, upon Bismarck's advice, levied the tax upon the same scale as in the previous year, without any vote of the Landtag. General von Roon took in hand the troops thus raised and made them an army.

Prussia and Austria were the most powerful members of the German Confederation. The next step was to prove that Prussia was to take the lead in that combination. The occasion was found in the attempt of the people of Schleswig-Holstein to throw off Danish rule. It used to be said that Benjamin Disraeli was the one man in Europe who understood that complicated question.

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Bismarck did not attempt to understand it; all he meant to do was to use it. Accordingly a joint army of Prussians and Austrians seized the territory in dispute, and Prussia took part of the plunder. In addition the Prussians got most of the military glory and proved to Germany that the new army could fight.

*War with Austria.* The next step was to prove the same thing to the Austrians, who rather played into the hands of the Prussians by raising frivolous questions in the Diet of the Confederation. The Prussians had adopted as their service rifle a breech-loading weapon known as the needle-gun, with a range considerably beyond that of the old-fashioned smooth-bore musket. When a zealous young Austrian officer reported this fact to his superiors, the only answer was, "The serried battalions of Austria will sweep away those piff-paff soldiers like dust."

In 1866 the opportunity to sweep them away came about. Prussia forced the war, and was supported on the south by Italy; and the actual hostilities lasted only about thirty days. At the battle of Königgrätz the Austrians could not get within range of those "piff-paff soldiers," and their army was broken up. Meantime the old German Confederation had declared war on Prussia; as a result, Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Hesse put armies in the field. They were all defeated by the Prussians with their marvelous clock-work military system. General von Moltke came forward as the strategist without a peer, who laid out his campaigns in his study years in advance and saw them come out as he had designed.

Here came the critical moment in the combinations of Bismarck. The military authorities were determined to take a strip of the Bohemian frontier till the mighty man broke down in a torrent of weeping. To leave such a thorn in the side of the Austrians would, he declared, wreck all his plans. He brought conviction to William, and the only penalty exacted from Austria was an absolute retirement from German affairs, leaving Prussia free to make new arrangements.

*North German Confederation.* Inside Germany Bismarck was now free to make a new map. Hanover, Hesse, and the city of Frankfort were extinguished by annexing them to Prussia, which thus at last built the bridge from east to west. All the other states of Germany except Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden were incorporated into a North German Confederation, for which an elaborate federal constitution was drawn (1867). On every page can be seen the influence of the United States, and especially of the recent success of the American federation in subduing an attempt to break up the Union. A Bundesrath was set up which has some of the features of the United States Senate; and a Reichstag which much resembles the House of Representatives. When the question arose of suffrage for the Reichstag, the example of the United States prevailed. All grown men throughout the Confederation were entitled to vote at their places of residence. Prussia, though it had seven-eighths of the population of the new Federation, modestly accepted the dignity of the "Presidency." The new nation began to make treaties, to send ambassadors, and to organize the whole Federation into one customs system on the plan of the United States.

*The French War.* Still the work of unification was incomplete, for three independent South German states existed, subject to the influence of Austria on the east and France on the west. The Austrians took their medicine and set themselves to reorganizing their own Empire. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, had steered a devious course. He could not fathom Bismarck's plans nor understand the adhesive spirit of the Germans, but he had a military force which might be used to prevent a conquest of South Germany by North Germany. The next step was, therefore, to put France into a condition in which she could no longer interfere with the complete union of the Germans. France was, or supposedly was, the strongest military power in Europe; but Prussia had no fear of a single-handed war. Austria deeply resented the failure of the French to aid them in 1866 and stood aloof. The South German states had their eyes opened when Bismarck laid before them certain propositions made by Napoleon looking toward an expansion of France at their expense. With or without immediate cause, Prussia was ready to strike at what it believed the only obstacle to a German nation.

An excuse arose in a trumpery quarrel over the supposed desire of Spain to take a king from one of the collateral branches of the Hohenzollern family. Bismarck made up his mind that the psychical moment had come, and deliberately telegraphed a clipped and roughened account of a supposed insult

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to the Emperor of Germany by the French Ambassador Benedetti. War was declared July 19, 1870, within thirteen days of the date when war again broke out between France and Germany forty-four years later. The South German states were instantly swept into the struggle. Within six weeks the French Empire fell and a Republic was proclaimed. Within eight weeks began the siege of Paris, which lasted four months longer. Then the resistance of France was absolutely crushed. Before the new Germany could be constituted it had been enlarged by the annexation of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

*The German Empire.* Territorially the work was done. All the German-speaking peoples of Europe, with the exception of a few in the Baltic provinces of Germany, the Austrians, and the northern Swiss, were now incorporated into one nation. It remained to give final shape to that combination. A communication was sent to King William of Prussia by the King of Bavaria (we now know that it was drawn up by Bismarck), asking him to become Emperor of Germany. The name corresponded with the dignity and traditions of the nation. On January 18, 1871, in the great hall of the Palace at Versailles, then occupied by the German army, William formally took the Imperial crown under the title of "German Emperor." The Constitution of the North German Confederation was changed to correspond, though to the three South German states were left their post-office, military organization in time of peace, and the barren right to exchange ministers and consuls with foreign countries. Bismarck's work seemed done; he had accomplished the impossible. He had not "restored" the German Empire, for never in its most glorious days had the Holy Roman Empire approached the strength and power of the new German combination. What he did was to place a new Empire alongside Russia and Austria-Hungary. He had made himself undeniably the greatest German since Charlemagne.

*Effects of Unification.* In reality, when the outside obstacles were all removed, new difficulties sprang up within the country. First of all came the opposition of economic forces; the Junker element was strong in the Imperial Government and insisted that its agricultural products should be protected by a tariff. On the other side, new and vast manufacturing interests sprang up, and the operatives demanded cheap food. For Bismarck was created the great office of Chancellor of the Empire, the incumbent of which, under the Constitution, was "to be responsible." The Reichstag thought that meant that he was to be responsible to them and to resign if he could not accept their policy. He insisted that he was responsible to his Emperor alone. The Reichstag constantly brought forward the power of the civil government, while the Emperor and the Chancellor emphasized the military power.

Throughout the Empire, especially in the industrial centers and large cities, Socialists made great headway; they elected a group of members to the Reichstag and took it upon themselves to bait the Chancellor at every opportunity. As late as last year they elected a member from the district in which the Imperial residence is situated. The South German states and people felt submerged in the new Empire, for Prussia through its votes and those of the small states which it controls always has a majority in the Bundesrath, which means practically a veto on all measures; and the Emperor has in military matters another veto on all propositions to alter existing conditions.

Nevertheless great steps have been taken in the actual unification of the national aspirations of the Germans. Most of them are eager for colonies. If a poll could have been taken last July, it would probably have been found that most of them felt that Holland or Belgium or both were logically expansions of the German seacoast. All of them (except the three million Poles in the eastern provinces) believed that they had a mission to extend the German language, culture, prestige, and authority for the good of mankind. All of them recognized the dangerous situation of their fellow-Germans in Austria-Hungary. All of them stood ready at any time to accept the decision of their War Lord and his counselors that the country was in danger. No one can doubt that the German nation is completely unified in its determination to push the present war with every means, usual and unusual, for the defense of Fatherland and the expansion of the German Empire. Defeat would never destroy the German Empire or shake the unification of the German people.

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# THE BOY SCOUTS OF FEUDAL JAPAN

## BY C. A. HIBBARD

KAGOSHIMA, whose five hundred years of history boast many interesting events, is the old castle town of the Satsuma barons. Situated at the southern extremity of the southernmost island of the Japanese archipelago, it is still free from many influences that have trammeled the feudalism of the other provinces. Here it was that, one evening soon after my arrival, I first made acquaintance with the *sha*, who may be called the Boy Scouts of Feudal Japan.

Returning from a jaunt into the country-side, I found an unwonted bustle in the streets and was startled by an almost instantaneous bursting forth of flames in a score of places throughout the city. The first blaze proved to be a bonfire of torn and crippled paper umbrellas. It was surrounded by twenty or thirty boys, several of whom, as I approached, doffed their caps in salutation of their new teacher.

"Good-evening, *sensei*."

"Good-evening. Why the fires?"

"Oh, it was this night, many years ago, a very brave deed was done," replied the eldest of the boys.

"Yes. And what was the deed?"

"Well, a very bad man had killed a very good man named Soga. This Soga had two sons (we say Soga *kyodai*—Soga brothers, that means), and one dark night in spring—it was very, very dark night; the wind was very, very noisy—these brothers went out to kill the man who had killed their father."

"And was this in Kagoshima?"

"No, not Kagoshima—a small place near Mount Fuji. It was very dark, bad night, and these boys could not see to go to this bad man's house. They had no *chochin*—you known *chochin?* That is Japanese lantern we use at night. They had no lantern, so they burned their paper umbrellas, and then they found this bad man's house and killed him with their swords. So we on this day—always in fifth month—we burn *kasa* so we not forget this brave deed. You like this custom?"

"I think it is well to remember brave deeds of the past. But revenge—" and here I stopped, fearing the deep water ahead for a man attempting to explain to a Satsuma youth that there are nobler forms of bravery than those prompted by revenge. "Does every one in Japan do this on this evening?"

"Oh, no. Only in Kagoshima. The students in the *sha* do this. They like very much Soga *kyodai*."

This unique ceremony made me interested to learn something of the organization and purpose of an institution so evidently fostering the ideas of past centuries.

On leaving the academy grounds one afternoon, I caught up with a group of students swinging along in my direction. Each of the lads wore the skirt-like *hakama* and carried over his shoulder a fencing foil from which were suspended different fencing paraphernalia. To their polite salutation with removed caps I replied with the strictly Japanese greeting, "Where are you going?"

"To our *sha*, sir, for fencing."

"Well, that's good sport. Might I go with you?"

"Yes, please, only our *sha* is a very poor building and you will see nothing interesting there."

With this I fell in with them. After a few minutes' walk through the narrow streets lined by high stone walls in a manner peculiar to the southern city, we turned in through a gateway and entered a spacious compound which at the time presented a scene of pandemonium.

A lively place it is. The playground is full of lads clustered in groups around the contestants in their favorite sports. One group shuts in a couple of lithe-limbed lads, naked except for loin-cloths, who are tussling and tugging in the clumsy Japanese wrestling. In another section of the yard the *jiu-jitsu* enthusiasts are tripping and throwing each other silently, while the more noisy fencers scattered over the exercise ground are inclosed by little knots of spectators who every now and then give vent to short, jerky exclamations of encouragement and praise. Over all is heard the clash of the bamboo broadswords used by the combatants.

After a few interesting moments watching the different sports, my guides invited me to see their house. The building, a low, one-story structure of the customary Japanese style of architecture, was given over almost



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THE MEMORY OF JAPAN'S GREATER GLORY UNDER THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

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entirely to one large hall. The whole place was even more void of furniture than the Japanese home, the room being fitted out with nothing more than the usual straw mats and a few small tables to be used during study hours. The flower decorations, the fine wall *kakemono*, and the delicate woodwork which give the Japanese house its dignity and simple beauty were wanting here. These things belong to the woman's province, and the *sha* member rises at four in the morning of the coldest winter month to practice his fencing and *jiu-jitsu* for the very purpose of showing that there is nothing of the feminine about him.

Our little party was joined by two older lads, whom I afterwards found to be in authority on that particular afternoon. The control of the society is in the hands of these elder members, who act as coaches in the athletics and tutors in the educational work. These youths are in turn responsible to the "scout master," as he would be called in America or England, one of the Samurai of the district. These head men are often retired army officers of very worthy position, and spend much of their time with the *sha*, giving to it that spirit which plays so large a part in its life. The superintendent of the society ranked as a general of Manchurian forces during the late war.

It is impossible to give any definite date for the origin of these societies. It seems probable, however, that these *sha*, or Boy Scouts of Feudal Japan, as I prefer to think of them, first came into prominence at the close of the sixteenth century, when Japan was warring with Korea. These campaigns drained Satsuma of her fighting class; the fathers and elder brothers going to the wars left the young blood of the province under the tutelage of the women and old men. Fearing a weakness in the youths thus left to feminine care and indulgence, Niiro Tadamo, the Sir Philip Sidney of Satsuma knighthood, organized, or, perhaps better, developed, societies in the different parts of the city for the training of the Samurai sons.

As time went on, each society in the general organization became a distinct unit sufficient unto itself. A spirit of exclusiveness grew up which would make the rivalry of present-day college fraternities seem puerile. The lads of one district were forbidden to associate with those of another, and many are the stories of blood-letting on the streets at an affront, either fancied or real, offered by a member of one society to one of another.

The bridge over the serene, lotus-covered moat surrounding the present Seventh Higher School is said to have been the scene of one of the fiercest of these encounters. The members of two *sha*, to the number of about fifty, on their way to the central fortifications of the city, elbowed each other in passing over the bridge. With a true d'Artagnan resentment, each youth imagined himself insulted. Swords were drawn. The fight which took place left some three or four mortally wounded. The whole affair was suppressed only when a detachment of men-at-arms from the castle engaged in the affray to cool the too fierce ardor of the youngsters' spirit.

With the Restoration the *raison d'être* of this old institution disappeared. Feudal principles have largely vanished, and the *sha* lives to-day chiefly in its traditions.

As evidenced in these traditions, the modern *sha* is a most picturesque institution. Four times each year the organizations hold special ceremonies to perpetuate the memory of their heroes and to instill a respect for the noble and brave. That two of these four evenings should be given over to recalling past acts whose merit is their fierce adherence to a primitive sense of revenge will perhaps surprise the Western reader.

On the 23d of June the lads journey on foot to a little hamlet some twenty-five miles from Kagoshima, where there is a shrine dedicated to one of their old feudal lords. Here they camp out overnight in the inclosure of the shrine, ready at the first gray of dawn to perform their sacred dance before the *manes;* this completed, a general pellmell Marathon race takes place back to a second shrine within the precincts of the city. With the rivalry which still exists between the societies the affair becomes serious, the contestants frequently dropping from exhaustion along the route.

But the 14th of September witnesses the greatest of the *sha* festivals. The habitual evening repose of the city is banished by the alternating high and low notes of a martial chant as the Boy Scouts of Feudal Japan march on their yearly pilgrimage to a shrine twenty miles inland.

All through the late afternoon and early evening the hills near by have resounded with a fanfare that would be truly martial were the youthful buglers but a trifle more

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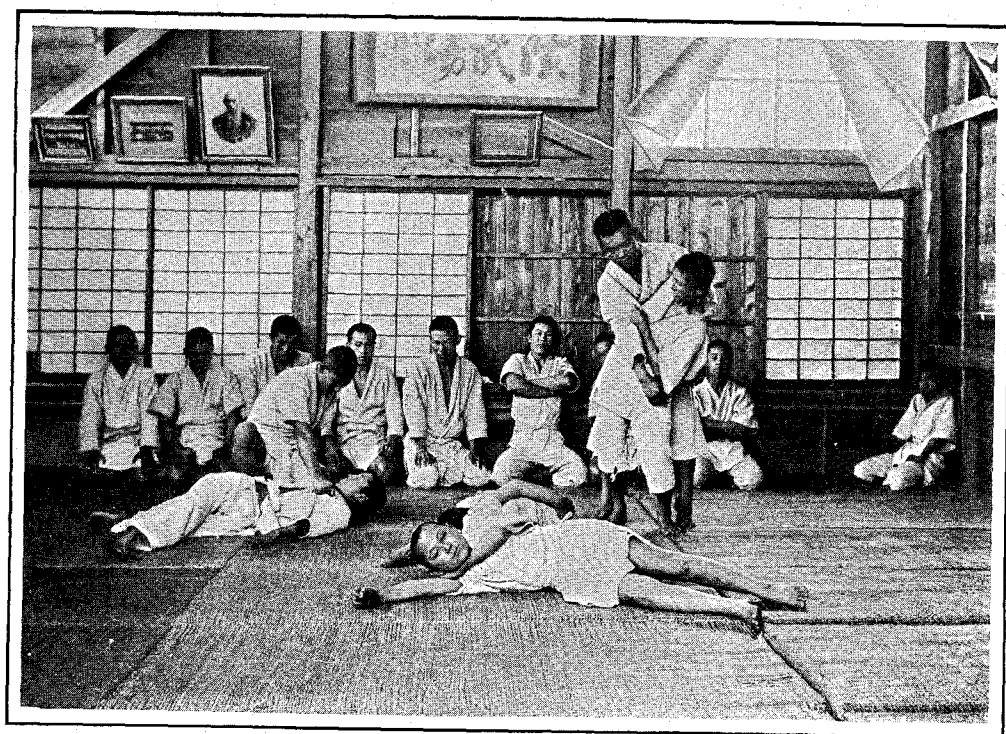
"OVER ALL IS HEARD THE CLASH OF THE BAMBOO BROADSWORDS"



"THE SHA MEMBER RISES AT FOUR ON THE COLDEST WINTER MORNINGS TO PRACTICE HIS JIU-JITSU"

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adept. For this pilgrimage the *chigo*, or junior members, don the ancient dress of a time "when reds and blues were indeed red and blue"—the heavy cloth stuffs which were the garb of the Samurai on occasions which did not call for the more protecting but cumbersome armor, and were much worn, even in battle, by the rank and file. The older lads, those above fifteen years, make the journey clad in the full armor of metal and completely helmeted—a feat not to be carelessly undertaken. In each file is a boy carrying a streamer bearing the name of his organization, just as in past days the name of the knight in command was borne by his color-bearer.

With bugles blowing, pennants flying, and dressed in these heavy trappings of war, the Samurai sons traverse the twenty miles to the village shrine consecrated to the greatest of Satsuma's warriors—Shimadzu Yoshihisa. This Yoshihisa, the most notable of a notably warlike family, has been canonized by the Satsuma people for his bravery at the battle of Sekigahara—the Japanese Marston Moor. On this occasion he found himself, through the treachery of a supposed ally, in the midst of a fearful debacle, which threatened to annihilate his whole command. Undaunted, however, Yoshihisa formed a forlorn hope, and with some seventy of his men cut his way through whole regiments of the victorious forces.

The Satsuma people have that all too rare worship for the hero even in his defeat. It has probably never occurred to them that their lord was defeated. He is their hero, and as such still lives in their ceremonies.

The last of the year's celebrations returns to the austere idea of revenge which we saw characterizing the umbrella burning. On the evening of December 14 the lads assemble in their respective *sha*, and under the leadership of their seniors read that famous old drama of the Forty-seven Ronin. The reading begins about seven, and is carried on continuously by alternating readers until fifteen small volumes are gone through—usually about four in the morning.

The story of the Forty-seven Ronin is too long for detailed narration here; indeed, it forms a history of itself, and is too well known to foreign readers through Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan" to bear repetition. Suffice it to say that it is a story whose *motif* lies in a revenge brought about by forty-seven knights after long months had elapsed.

These Samurai had formerly been attached to the service of a great lord, who, having got into a quarrel at the palace in ancient Tokyo, had attempted to assassinate his enemy. According to the old rules, such an attempt was punished by an enforced suicide and forfeiture of estate. These retainers, ever faithful to their lord, decided on revenge, and in order to divert suspicion became *ronin*, a sort of *condottieri*, and scattered all over the Empire. The chief of these knights even went so far in his effort to blind the spies of the enemy as to divorce his wife, purchase a concubine, and frequent the gay quarters of the town, in the hope that word of his dissoluteness would reach Tokyo.

While the leader was in the depths of his dissipation a Satsuma Samurai found him sleeping in a gutter, intoxicated, and, to show his contempt for a creature fallen so low that he refused to revenge his lord, kicked the drunken *ronin* and spat in his face.

At length the ruse of these men was successful. All suspicion was buried, the large guard which had been maintained in the Tokyo castle was dismissed, and these forty-seven men entered in the dead of night and wrought their vengeance. Having obtained satisfaction, these retainers despatched themselves by *hara-kiri* and were all buried together in a cemetery which is now visited yearly by thousands of pilgrims.

But it is a forty-eighth grave which interests the *sha* boys—that of the Satsuma knight who had insulted the drunken leader in the street. Hearing that the dissipation of the chief of the band had been part of the general scheme, this old Satsuma warrior journeyed to the little shrine in the inclosure of the cemetery where they were interred, and, beseeching pardon for his mistake, himself committed *hara-kiri*.

This, in outline, is the story hundreds of Satsuma youths listen to from the lips of their elders. Many writers have taken occasion to lament the influence that such teaching must have on the children. Yet, withal, it is such as was necessary to meet the demands of the morality of feudal Japan.

Stern training in the heat of summer and the cold of winter, constant attention to the code of Bushido and to a mediæval ethics, together with a sterling sense of loyalty to lord and piety towards parents, were the services which these societies of Boy Scouts in Feudal Japan were organized to promote.

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# EIGHT MINUTES' COMMON-SENSE PLAY FOR THE GROWING CHILD

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*This article concludes the series of three articles by Mr. Cromie about "Eight Minutes' Common-Sense Exercise." The first, "Exercise for the Busy Man," appeared in The Outlook for June 23. The second, "Exercise for the Nervous Woman," appeared in the issue of July 25.—THE EDITORS.*

IN dealing with the subject "Eight Minutes' Common-Sense Play for the Growing Child" I shall also speak of the child's early training in the mental, social, and moral aspects, as these and the physical cannot be dissociated. During the first few years of life all of these natures of the child can best be developed through the agency of play.

## PLAY LIFE

Before taking up the play life of the child, let us see if we can determine what play is. There are four view-points in the theory of play, all of which should be considered. The "feeling fit," or overflowing with surplus energy, is advanced by H. Schiller and Herbert Spencer, while directly opposed to this is the idea that play is an opportunity (Lazarus's theory) afforded for the relaxation of exhausted powers. Professor Karl Groos claims that play is important in the development of the individual, while, opposing this, Professor G. Stanley Hall explains play as a rehearsing of ancestral activities. Herbert Spencer, in his "Principles of Psychology," in upholding the first of these four views, claims that "play is characteristic of nerve processes—that the superfluous integration of ganglion cells should be accompanied by an inherited readiness to discharge." This sounds quite technical; it means that on account of the advanced development of man he has more force than is needed in order to digest, breathe, keep the organic processes going, and is able to allow some of his processes longer periods of rest while others are being exercised.

Imitation seems to be quite general in the play of the child, who dramatizes the acts of adults in the dressing of dolls and the building of toy houses; still, imitation cannot be called the universal standard of play. Not imitation or superfluous energy, but the life of impulse and instinct alone can make special forms of play comprehensible to us. All that is needed to set the claws of a kitten in motion is to roll a ball of cord toward it, while the full-grown cat starts up at the sight of a mouse. If a father gets upon his hands and knees in the nursery, the child instinctively is ready for a romp. The feeling-fit theory is all right as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Recreation or play appeals to one when one is tired or exhausted and still does not wish to rest or sleep. Play is the diversion of thought from the weightier conflicts of life to the seemingly lighter diversions of the hour. As the strings of a violin and the string of a bow should not always be taut if the instrument is to retain its usefulness, so does man need the relaxation of play. When a student plays a game of baseball or tennis, he tones up his relaxed mental powers at the same time that he finds a means of relieving his accumulated motor impulses, repressed during his work in the clinic, laboratory, or at the drawing-board. Play which disposes of his surplus energy, and, again, which restores his lost powers, is a valuable supplement to the Schiller-Spencer idea, but still does not solve the theory of play. New recreative activity is often closely related to the work of which one is weary, as the changing from one scientific book to another. When almost exhausted from long, continuous walking on the level, I have found diversion and become rested by up-and-down-hill walking, and *vice versa*. This is due to the fact that different sets of muscles are employed. The swimmer becomes rested by turning over on his back.

While the theory of surplus energy accounts for play in the case of many children when there is no need for recreation, this need may produce play, as illustrated by adults with whom



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there is no surplus energy. While play may be started in the absence of superabundant energy, it may then be carried to the utmost limit of exhaustion. Baldwin explains the almost irresistible tendency to repeat by calling it "circular reaction." A child never tires of hearing the same story over and over; roosters fight till they fall exhausted, and, when rested, renew the fighting. A phrase or advertising sign will often stay with one for days, being constantly repeated or reviewed in the mind's eye. This impulse toward repetition is the reason for carrying on play to the utmost limit of strength. Some parents imagine their children evilly inclined because, while leaping and running, they sometimes are seized with a wild impulse for destroying things or for inflicting pain upon animals Children should not be punished for this, because they are following the mysterious law of "circular reaction," or the frenzy of play. While the play life of the child should be encouraged, still it should be carefully supervised by the parent and teacher, and the child should not be allowed to play too much. A child has not the self-control of the adult, and so gives way to the impulse of repetition. I have seen both a boy and a girl faint from the effects of over-indulgence in play, the boy during Marathon running, and the girl in rope-jumping. During the unrestrained impulse of the adult, even, we can see evidences of the tendency to repeat. The dancer whose movements are adjusted in harmony with the rhythmic repetition of pleasant sounds is possessed by a kind of temporary madness which makes him exert his powers to the utmost. Some religious sects do unseemly things while laboring under the fervor of religious ecstasy. The frenzy of play is well exemplified in the ghost dance of the American Indians and among savage tribes in other parts of the world which inflict atrocious self-torture and dance till exhausted. Parents should not, then, repress the shouting, singing, and playing of the child when they themselves can hardly at times restrain the same impulse. Professor Karl Groos, in his "Play of Man," says that play is of great importance in the physical and mental development of the individual; that it is, in short, preparatory to the tasks of life. He claims that, before the child's education begins, his whole existence, except the time devoted to sleeping and eating, is occupied with play. He says that this does not involve heredity impulses, but that its peculiar and inherent nearness to the springs of life and life's realities demands a complete explanation grounded on a general principle which is applicable at once to youth and to the play which lasts throughout life.

The latest view of play is held by Professor G. Stanley Hall, who says that "the first spontaneous movements of infancy are keys to the past; that in play every mood and movement is instinct with heredity." The power to throw with accuracy and speed was in the long ago necessary for survival. Those who could throw unerringly overcame enemies, killed game, and sheltered the family, while those who could not were eliminated. Running and dodging with speed and endurance and hitting with a club were also basal to hunting and fighting. These exercises are still necessary for developing and perfecting the organism, and this is what makes the game of baseball so racially familiar and our National sport. Does not the typical college game of football revive memories of the conflict and struggle of primitive ages? It does not take a Carlisle eleven to make a gridiron resemble a battlefield of savages, illustrating, as it does, the joys of victory and the crushing sorrows of defeat. Why will twenty or thirty thousand persons sit for

FIGURE 1. PLAYING SOLDIERS
A good posture exercise

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two hours cheering their favorites, oblivious of the cold, rain, and blinding snow, if not impelled by ancestral traits handed down by those football tactics of running, dodging, tackling, and throwing of the primitive man? Is it not a racial instinct that impels one to sit all day on the bank of a stream and fish? Some exercises and play are more interesting than others because they touch and revive the basic emotions of the race. "Play," continues Professor Hall, "at best is only a school of ethics. It gives, not only strength, but courage and confidence, tends to simplify habits, gives energy, diversion, and promptness to the will, brings consolation and peace of mind in evil days, is a resource in trouble, and brings out individuality." The conclusion, then, I take it, is that all four ideas discussed must be included in order to give the best definition of play. Surplus energy and recreation for exhausted powers may operate simultaneously; while in the free, untrammeled use of one's powers individual qualities may be developed during the rehearsing of those ancestral activities as reproduced in play.

### THE BIOLOGIC ASPECT OF PLAY

In the science of life play may be considered from two standpoints: its genetic explanation and its biological value. It is as difficult to explain its origin satisfactorily as it is to explain the origin of man. Darwin's theory of descent has constantly increasing opposition. Still, there is no better doctrine than that of evolution, and man's obscure origin may never be fully comprehended. Darwin's theory of descent, however, is symbolic of the biologic aspect of play, evolution by means of the inheritance of acquired characters, and, again, evolution by means of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. Play is deep-seated in biology because it secures the maximum of joy in life with the minimum of expense. Especially is this true with games and movements of rhythm, such as college yells, cheers, walking, horseback-riding, dancing, and gymnastics with music. Students will exercise and dance with energy and spirit till almost exhausted when accompanied with popular music, while without it the same exercise loses its attraction and is then often performed as an irksome task. Students like to yell, sing, and whistle in connection with gymnastics and play, and this should be encouraged. In a growing youth shouting, like the crying of infants, causes tension and flushing of various organs, enlarges the caliber of blood-vessels, and forces the blood into newly growing fibers, cells, and organs, which atrophy if not thus fed. Play is a sign of youth, and the absence of it reveals the fact that one is getting old.

### THE PSYCHOLOGIC ASPECT

From the intellectual standpoint, play contains three essentials, viz., its pleasurable effect, the conscious or unconscious imitation of useful activities, and the reproduction of the original aim in a playful one. The psychology of play rests on the satisfaction of unborn impulses, such as fighting, sexual, imitation, and social instincts, and these, pressing for discharge, lead to pleasure when they find it in play. Some forms of play are not psychological, such as the play of young animals and infants, nor can they be said to be pleasurable. The child in his first grasp of an object clutches at it instinctively, and play then begins. From a biological point of view, this is practice of an instinct and may be termed a contact play. The child then develops the playful activity with the rest of the sensory apparatus by his sensations of temperature, taste, smell, sound, and sight. These movements cannot be considered play from a psychologic standpoint until through repetition they acquire the character of conscious processes accompanied by attention and pleasure. The pleasure in play and exercise may direct the attention and imagination of youth from questionable things to those that make for character. Properly directed games and play, by exalting one's spirit almost to the point of ecstasy by its intense physical pleasure, will diffuse, irradiate, and lessen the sexual stress just at the age when its premature localization is most dangerous. The proper amount of play or exercise at the proper time gives moral self-control and favors all higher human inspiration. The higher mental powers are employed and developed in play to a remarkable extent. The infant experiments during play with such feelings as physical pain, mental suffering, surprise, and fear. The illusion of the child is so strong that the little girl with her doll imagines she is its real mother, while the boy is just as really a soldier or robber. In games of tag the child runs with as much fear as if the bogie-man were real. Older persons also play with the feelings, as a sensitive tooth is constantly touched by the tongue or a slight wound repeatedly pressed or

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rubbed. The neurotic plays with his feelings and imagines he has all sorts of diseases. In the last case imagination tends to make one morbid and introspective, while illusion in play can result only in good. In short, play is just as real to the imaginative adult as her doll is to the little girl; and the play life of the older person helps and develops him just as much as the doll helps the girl for the duties, later, of a mother.

### THE SOCIOLOGIC VIEW-POINT

As society is founded upon the desire for aggregation and communication, so play is necessary for bodily association or grouping together in order to bring out the best that is in man. Play is valuable in its cheering and humanizing effect both physically and mentally, especially in those games which tend to strengthen social ties. To do what the others do; to thrill with the feeling that moves the masses; to get out of the narrow routine of one's own desires and efforts—these one experiences during play, and habits which extend beyond the sphere of play are thereby formed. When these two original social impulses outgrow the limits of the family, the child enters the first social group composed of playmates. Every "gang" must have a leader, and his command is absolute; under such command a timid child may steal and commit crimes that amaze and horrify his parents. Later the college youth, not while alone, but with the "hail fellows well met," will drink liquors till intoxicated. At these periods of life play ought to be well directed. Achievement in play games proclaims ability to support and defend not only one's self, but others. Physical force and skill, the victory and glory which proclaimed the

FIGURE 2. GOING DOWN EXERCISE

FIGURE 3. BETWEEN THE EXERCISES

FIGURE 4. GOING UP EXERCISE

THREE GOOD MOVEMENTS FOR STRENGTHENING THE BACK, NECK, AND ARMS

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FIGURE 5. THE ABDOMINAL MUSCLE EXERCISE

ancient a hero and invested him with romantic glamour, are just as irresistible to-day. The applause of men is intoxicating; but that of the fair sex is ravishing. Woman selects one in whom are found such qualities as bravery and strength; in fact, evolutionists claim that woman has domesticated and educated savage man and taught him all his virtues by exercising her royal prerogative of selecting in her mate just those qualities that please her for transmission to future generations and eliminating others distasteful to her. Just as a young man in playful mood feels the joys of victory and the sorrows of defeat more keenly in the presence of his sweetheart, so in after life will he try to please his wife in the development of those powers that elevate both themselves and society. In play, such as a game of football, the master spirit, who takes the lead by virtue of his courage, wisdom, or presence of mind, will enthuse those playing with him, and all will work together in order to win. Proving to one's associates and rivals in play what one is capable of gives one the right to be a leader. This desire to influence other wills and to direct and control public action, to become a social leader, finds full scope and development in play. The masterful spirit learns how to control; the milder one how to obey. Often (in life, as in play), for the welfare of society, when one feels like striking with all his might, he must make a sacrifice bunt in order that his team-mate may advance.

Play benefits society, as can be seen by the great crowds that gather to witness contests and games, oblivious of the exacting cares and responsibilities of home and business, and reveals the power of enthusiasm in congenial surroundings, while each one gains a stimulus from the vast crowd.

Play is *esprit de corps* in that it is cementing the ties of brotherly love between nations in those great international contests which had their origin in ancient Greece. These Olympic Games in the long ago were ever in preparation for war, while to-day they stand for development and kindly competition. Just as we rehearse and give vent to the savage activities of our forebears in games, so can athletic contests between nations take the place of war, which is of savage origin and belongs to a dead past.

### THE PEDAGOGIC VIEW-POINT

The educational value of play has been recognized from the time of Plato to the present day. There are two ways of viewing the relation of play to education. The instruction may take the form of playful activity, or it may be converted into systematic teaching. Instruction may take the form of play, as in the hobbies of adults aside from occupation, which are taken chiefly for the pleasure they afford. These may be instructive and have aims entirely outside of the sphere of play. The teaching of the young child, however, is different, as in the Froebel kindergarten system of instruction, because the occupation or study is playful practice in preparation for the serious work of the higher grades. The reason I have dwelt at length on the subject of play is because every parent and pedagogue should understand the fundamental principles concerning play and exercise, as plays and games differ in individuals, seasons, sex, and age. Play will bring out individuality and develop the physical and moral nature in children as can be done in no other way.

### INDIVIDUALITY

Each child has peculiarities of mind, temperament, disposition, and character which

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make it an individual problem for the parents to solve. A mother, in lamenting the failure of home discipline in rearing children, may say, "I cannot understand it, as I have treated them all exactly alike." The secret of her failure lay in the fact that she tried to open distinctly different locks with the same key. There is a difference between wax and clay, as the sun will melt one and harden the other. The parent should appeal to the child's strongest characteristic, as this is the keynote of its individuality. This strength should be used as the lever to raise its weakness.

Six romping, boisterous children in the nursery who are unruly and resist all commands to be quiet may be stilled in a few moments by an appeal to their individuality through its dominating trait. The boy who is playing soldier by noisily beating a drum may be changed into a sentinel whose duty it is to enforce quiet in the camp. The little girl may be moved through love as in no other way, and the chord of affection in her heart vibrates in instant harmony when she hears that the noise is making mother's head ache. Another child, unmoved by such an appeal, can be reached through his pride and self-respect by placing him at the head of the army. He can be depended upon to show his soldiers how to behave. The fourth, led into joining this playful riot through the hunger of an active mind craving something definite to do, may respond instantly if this be provided. The fifth, a little girl with the housewifely instinct for order, finds satisfaction in helping mother with household duties, while the sixth may respond to an innate sense of justice as to no other appeal. Often, when one child in a family gives away all its playthings, he is praised for his generous act, while another is censured on account of cornering the toy market. Both children are wrong, just as a watch ten minutes fast and another ten minutes slow are both equally wrong. The watches must be regulated each differently—the speed must be retarded in one and accelerated in the other. So with the two children, the former must be made to respect his duty to himself, and the latter to recognize his duty to others. An object-lesson may be gained from a simple nursery game in which two or more children are playing. The game loses interest if a child gives away point after point without striving to win. On the other hand, the players become disgusted if one tries to win

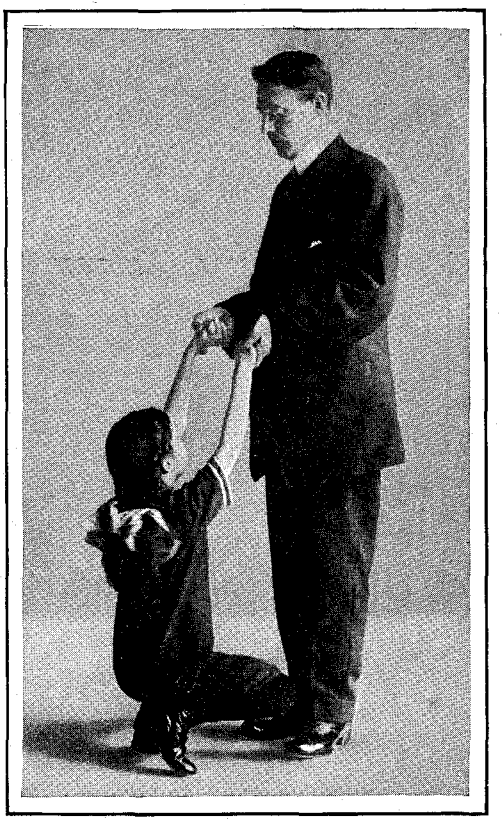

FIGURE 6. THE SEESAW EXERCISE

or "corner" the game by cheating or lying. Children in early life do not deliberately do wrong. They are getting their moral bearings through play; they make slips and mistakes, follow the line of least resistance, and consequently should be guided and helped to self-guidance. The punishment of the child, therefore, should have but one object, viz., its good. It should be the switching of a train of moral thought from the side-track back to the main line, and the danger-signals should be explained. It is doubtful if slapping or flogging of children by parents while angry is ever productive of good. Nature has laws, and inflicts a penalty for their violation. A hot coal will burn, a live wire will shock, and a keen edge will cut. Nature does not excuse on account of ignorance, but demands that one be punished for breaking her laws. The punishment is ever in terms of the law, whether it is marked in plain figures or in a cipher code which requires a knowledge of the moral key to interpret it. The child should be taught to realize this; he should know that punishment is just. If he has willfully cut or broken, he must restore in

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some way. The knife that carved initials on the parlor furniture must be taken away for a while; the child must be deprived of play while he tries to oil or polish the furniture in order to restore it in part to its original condition. This teaches a double lesson: he is deprived of the knife he values and he sacrifices pleasure from his play period. If he hurts, he must do his best to heal, and he must return the article that has been stolen.

PLAYFUL EXERCISE

The best kind of exercise for the child is that which is garbed in the form of play. This may take the form of companion exercise, in which either parent works in conjunction with the youngster, as illustrated in this article.

The first exercise shows good posture, which is the chief essential in common-sense play or exercise. I find it an excellent incentive to have a girl dress up as a Girl Scout, a boy as a soldier or Boy Scout, and stand as in Figure 1. The back is against a straight wall, with head, shoulders, hips, and heels touching it.

FIGURE 7. LEG LIFT EXERCISE

The pride of the youngster must be appealed to in gaining and maintaining an erect, graceful physique. When the body, either from neglect or fatigue, tends to droop forward, the child must constantly be reminded of the soldier or Scout till the correct posture becomes habitual. In the second illustration, the parent takes the hands of the child; the latter, keeping the body rigid, sinks backward slowly till the position of the third illustration is reached. The child should keep its feet against those of the parent in order not to slide while going backward. From the position in the third figure the child keeps the body stiff while the parent raises it to the position of Figure 2. Exercises 2, 3, 4, are designed for straightening especially the muscles of the back, neck, and arms. The fourth exercise is more difficult than the two preceding. The child must keep very rigid while it is being lifted to the standing position.

Exercise 5 is also a very good method of strengthening the abdominal muscles. Lift the child, as in Figure 5, then have it raise the legs and hold the position while

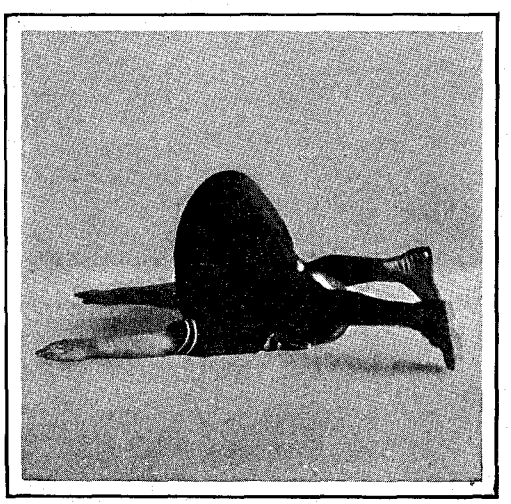

FIGURE 8. ROLY-POLY EXERCISE

FIGURE 9. THE GREAT BEND EXERCISE

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five are counted. At first the child will not be able to lift the legs straight forward, but will with practice.

The sixth exercise my little girl calls the seesaw. In the beginning of the movement both stand erect. The child performs a deep-knee bend, as in Figure 6, and as it comes to the starting position the parent bends, one assisting the other in maintaining the proper balance.

In Exercise 7 the child lies on its back and raises its legs. It should endeavor to bring the feet backward till the hand of the parent is touched. (See illustration, Figure 7.) This should be persevered in till the child can touch the floor with the toes, as in the following illustration.

Exercise 8 is rather difficult if the child attempts to accomplish it without the preliminary work as shown in the preceding movement. This is an excellent exercise to strengthen the abdominal muscles and keep the back muscles supple.

The last movement is a competitive one, as the parent strives to touch the floor more easily than the child. It is better to let the youngster win out at first in order to encourage it. Try to touch the floor without bending the knees. Some children, on account of their elasticity, can, after practice, touch the floor with the palms of the hands. In finishing these exercises raise the arms above the head, inhaling deeply, then, holding the breath, bend forward as in the last exercise, return to starting position, and exhale. The breathing may be made competitive, parent and child trying to out do each other in taking a big breath.

The first day perform each exercise one time, increasing one each day for a week. At the end of a week the child will be doing each movement seven times. After this, increase each movement one time every week till twelve or fifteen times are reached, or till it is determined what amount is best suited to the child's individual needs.

These exercises are especially beneficial to the mother, doing her almost as much good as the child.

The play of the child should be well regulated by both the parent and teacher. Children with organic weaknesses should be restricted from violent and exhausting games. Prolonged competitive events are dangerous. Play or exercise dangerous to life should be excluded or carefully controlled. Over-anxiety, a mania to win or excel, should not be mistaken for courage.

The vicious fighting element should be restrained. When a child manifests a tendency to be rude, ill-natured, or to lie and cheat, he should be promptly corrected. Ethical degeneration is far worse than all the bruises, sprains, and broken bones caused by play and games. Parents should be careful not to praise a child for a certain act one day and censure it for the same another time, as no child can run its mental or moral train of thought properly when there is such a confusion of signals.

Severe, arbitrary punishment is usually unjust and unwise. It has not proved itself an inspiration to goodness in the army and navy or in prisons. The child should always be allowed to speak in its own defense. Circumstantial evidence, which plays so cruel a part in human injustice in many criminal trials, should be carefully sifted in a nursery court martial. By the time all the evidence is in, the judge (parent) has had time to grow calm, and make the punishment awarded later seem a natural act of justice. We see in children the image of ourselves, and quite often their naughtiness is but the reflection of our own individuality. In the teaching and punishment of the child we as parents should realize that we are merely trustees and not proprietors. This physical and mental training of the child should be started early in life, when the body and mind are very plastic. It is easier to extinguish the lighted match than the conflagration it inspires. It is easier to straighten a sapling than the gnarled oak.

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# THE "BIG BUSINESS" MAN AS A SOCIAL WORKER

A SERIES OF PERSONAL PORTRAITS

BY DONALD WILHELM

## II—CYRUS H. McCORMICK, OF THE HARVESTER TRUST

FROM his glass-topped desk in the Harvester Company building to the open hall doorway, with head high and chest high, and vest appearing about to burst with suppressed vitality, the President of the corporation steps forward, firm of foot, slow of stride, stretches out his hand; a gray-bound force with figured necktie, discreet scarf-pin, with ample grayish hair, short mustache bristling gray, heavy gray eyebrows, and low nose ridge that indicates a sense of humor. Framed by the doorway, he listens to mention of welfare work, smiles, and his slow, unusually steady eyes suddenly light his whole face.

His eyes are the lights of his face. They are set very deep, and little lines of inquiry run side by side across his brow.

He saunters back to his desk. He answers a question: "We have been doing welfare work because it is right, because it is making an investment in human life and blood, and that is a fine thing."

One begins to "place" him.

He goes on: he enunciates very slowly, distinctly; his voice is full, low, a little hoarse; one is suddenly reminded of the gray minister at home. His skin is flushed, clean.

There in Chicago he is reckoned somewhat of an institution—a social institution. Chicago has more such institutions. He is a trustee of Princeton, has a son there who is a trustee, yet he has done much for Chicago education, perhaps because he is a Chicago high school graduate. He is helping to build Lake Forest University, near Chicago, just as his quick little mother in her black satin, with an ear eager for anything social, is surreptitiously helping to build a university in China. He has done much for Chicago music, art, city planning, churches, charities, tubercular children, for the Young Men's Christian Association, and more for the men under him. He doesn't give only, he endeavors to help. He gives more than what he has—he gives what he is; and therein lies the difference between philanthropist and social worker.

He supplied a luncheon, to illustrate, to get railway men interested in the Young Men's Christian Association; he went to St. Paul to help get James J. Hill interested; he went to the Harvester Company's Kentucky coke ovens to dedicate a Young Men's Christian Association, and stayed to start another one for colored men. A social worker watched twenty years of such McCormick co-operation and two years ago went over to McCormick social work. An established Chicago physician went over. A United Charities worker—a man who had won recognition—went over, and a not undistinguished district secretary fled Evanston to go to the Harvester corporation because she "wanted to do *constructive* social work." There were others.

In Iowa there was a constructive social worker if there ever lived one. He was a country school teacher with a mission, a farmer with an aspiration; he dedicated himself to giving humanity cheaper food; he wanted to avert a world-wide blight and find a way to give posterity *enough* food; he wanted to teach the American farmer how to do his share and make the American Nation the harvest field of the whole world. He is a bearded little man, son of a teacher and grandson of a teacher. He worked his way through country school and taught in country school; he worked his way through college and taught in college; he was made professor at Ames, then at last paused to look about. He saw taxpayers laboriously paying tithe to puff the State education purse and just about four per cent of those taxpayers or their heirs being educated. Instead of demanding that farmers come to college, which they couldn't, he decided to take the college to the farmers. He did just that. With the co-operation of the railway corporations he started a corn train. He



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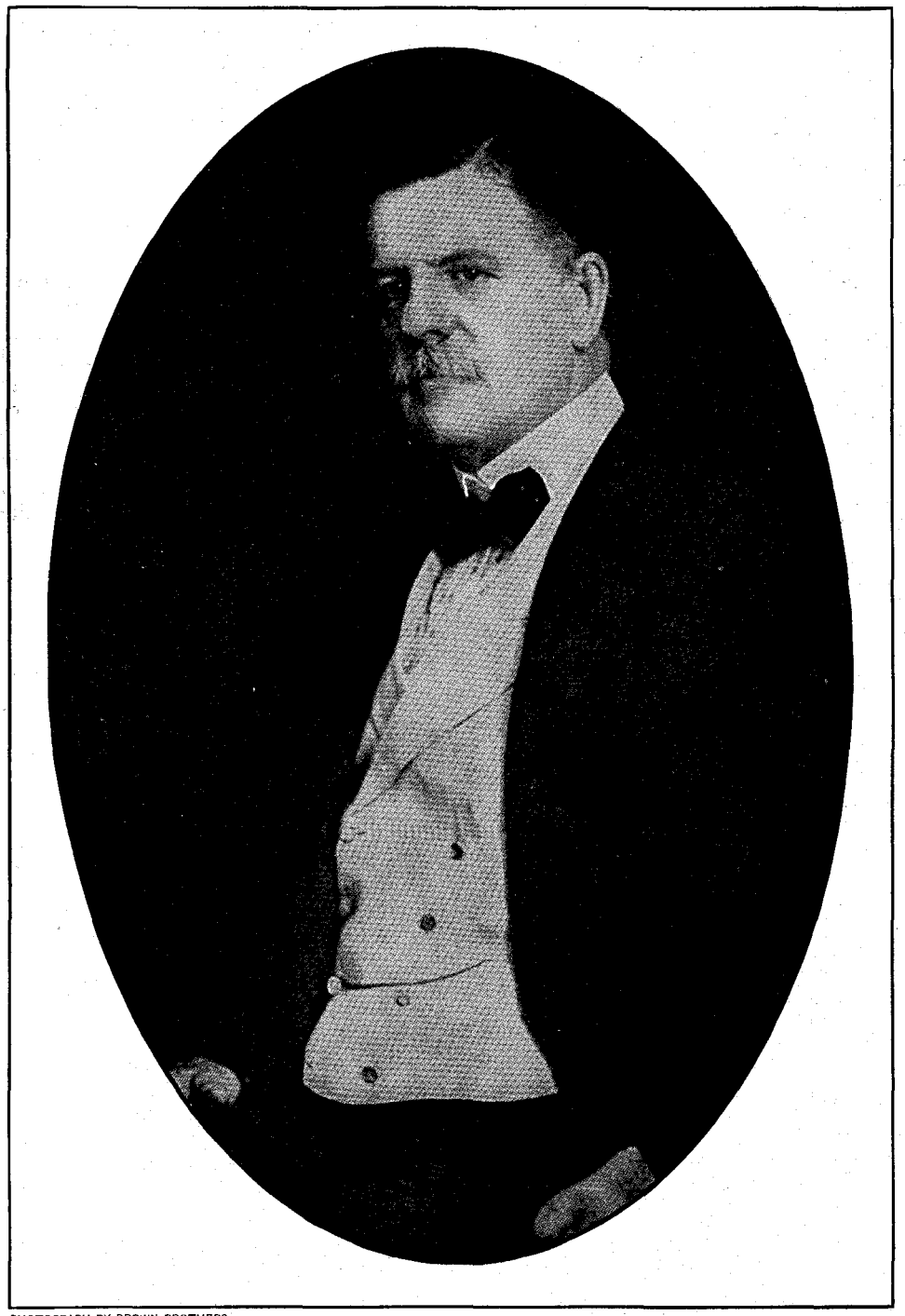

PHOTOGRAPH BY BROWN BROTHERS

CYRUS H. McCORMICK

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showed farmers how to raise corn. He "made" Iowa corn and Iowa hogs; agriculturally he made Iowa. Iowa tried to make him Governor, but quite contentedly he went on preaching evangelically the divine practicality of corn and hogs.

He received a telegram from Cyrus H. McCormick one day. He had read of more than one corporation partly bad, therefore wholly bad; he suspected one corporation bad meant all corporations were bad; he had grown prejudiced by the tyranny of what he saw taken as a type, and he was very, very far from seeing that the normal good corporation is the right hand of national plenty, the only promise of industrial peace.

He thought he knew big business men. He thought the big business men in the International Harvester Company wanted to make use of his reputation. He got another telegram. He found himself in Chicago one day, and by way of adventure emboldened himself to face the sturdy, brown-eyed President of the International Harvester Company, a trust, just indicted, previous to election time, for conspiracy in restraint of trade.

"I don't see what you want with me," he remonstrated. "I don't understand. You don't know anything about my work."

"I know all about your work," Mr. McCormick insisted stanchly. "We want you to come over to help us."

The professor shook his head.

"We need you—"

"I can do a lot more for the farmer than to sell him farm machinery," he countered.

"We don't want you to sell farm machinery," the President fired back at him; "we have men who can do that."

The shrewd, blue-eyed, bearded little pedagogue says he wondered what in the world the sturdy corporation head did want. They exchanged views. After a day together they abruptly discovered that they had the same views. They agreed. They shook hands. The professor got enthusiastic while the President went on:

"If you live in a farm community, Holden," he said, "you expect to help a little in that community, don't you? You want to help build schools and roads and help things along all you can, don't you? You wouldn't be a good citizen if you didn't. Now a corporation has responsibilities just as great as those of a citizen, probably greater. If a corporation does business in a community, I can't understand why it shouldn't help that community. We want you to show us how to help."

"But my hopes," said Professor Holden, "my ambitions, are with Iowa, my native State. I want to do for Iowa."

"We want you to do for Iowa all that you hoped to do, and more. We want you to extend the boundaries of Iowa and do as much for the whole Nation, and then Canada."

Professor Holden hardly believed what he heard. He had begun to see that his State would not help him do all he hoped to do, and here was a corporation asking him to do infinitely more, not only in his State, but in all the States. He had suspected that all this corporation had been doing for years in the way of educative work had been for advertising purposes; he believed that its lecture courses and its co-operation with schools, colleges, States and nations had been mostly selfish. Now, he confessed quite frankly to himself, either his estimate of corporations, and notably of this corporation, was direfully wrong or he was being deceived. He scrutinized the man before him.

"I believe that a corporation is a public servant, intended for service and not primarily for personal and selfish money-getting," Mr. McCormick went on earnestly. "We do not want to make this the biggest corporation in America, Professor Holden, but we do hope to make it one of the best."

Professor Holden listened to the full, even sentences that carried so much of significance to America in them.

"We are not looking to the immediate dollar. It is true your work with us may benefit the farming world, and so benefit us eventually, but your work will also benefit the man who is buying machines of our competitors, and benefit the man who buys no machines whatever. We recognize the existence of a condition in this country that must be changed. We see a way, through you, of carrying valuable lessons to the farming world. We are part of that farming world. As we make our machines more efficient and more durable, the farmer is benefited; as we effect economies such as those that have enabled us to keep the price of farm machinery down while everything else has gone up, the farmer again is benefited; and so, too, as the farmer grows more efficient and more prosperous, as more acres are brought within the domain of cultivation,

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and more scientific knowledge is applied to the farm, we are benefited. The revolution in harvesting the wheat of the world which was inaugurated by the senior McCormick and Deering has about reached the apex of its possibility. There must be a new revolution in farming, which we have long recognized, and in which we want to lead, for the mutual benefit of all."

Professor Holden considered. "How much help can I have?"

"Enough to start an alfalfa train; you can come back for more."

Professor Holden started his alfalfa train. He took soil-booming, land-booming, nation-booming alfalfa—the crop that requires no new farm tools—to the farmers of a half-dozen States. His advance agent—or the county agent for the State—got the farmers together to co-operate in caring for the train, in furnishing autos to it, and furnishing meals. Professor Holden, the apostle of the farm, with his corps of experts, then came whizzing to meetings in fields, in back yards, front yards, at farm granges, in school-houses, churches, wherever a few score men could be got together. He talks in the vernacular; he speaks ever in terms of the person who listens; that is why he is a great teacher. He showed how to test soil, to doctor it, to raise alfalfa on it. He preached the joy of production so infectiously, he stimulated farmers to educate themselves so successfully, that, like classmates who have learned together, they were usually found co-operating when the follow-up man came along.

The train last year did a lot for a quarter of a million farmers in a half hundred counties in the Middle West, and now there are seven trains.

These seven trains have worked thoroughly—North, South, West—in States all the way from Montana to Mississippi. In Mississippi, to illustrate, in co-operation with the National Department of Agriculture, a railway, a college, business clubs, and business boards of trade, Mr. McCormick's emissaries traveled 900 miles by rail, 4,500 miles by auto, conducted 249 meetings, reached 17,579 persons with a new gospel of diversified farming to supplant the one-crop, poverty-bringing custom of the South.

It is all very well to say that this work constitutes good advertising calculated to influence United States judges and the general public. It wouldn't make much difference if it were so. But the writer, who is journalist enough to have predilections for nothing except the common welfare, after an accidental trip with the alfalfa train last year, after observing that perhaps half the farmers instructed believed that it was the Government and not the International that was helping them, doubts, even with the Government suit against the company hanging fire, that the motive in Mr. McCormick's admirable work is the gaining of advertising. Business men very often practice what they preach, and few of them deceive and stand cross-examination in the outer office and draw issues between welfare work and dividends in the inside office. If the company has been after advertising, it has done a poor bit of work and got small return for a million dollars or two.

The alfalfa train is selected, in fact, as an example illustrative of much and symptomatic of much more. It shows what a great corporation can do if it will or if it must. It shows that as soon as a corporation with normal stock, normal dividends, and careful management has fought its way out of the competitive battlefield it can afford to make the National interests its own interests. It shows how great its social and industrial service can be, and it points to what havoc can be wrought to a vital industrial potentiality by disclaimers who shy their castors into the political ring or skate too carelessly over the surface of industrial things.

Holden, the patriotic Socialist, wants cheaper food, therefore more food, and inevitably more farm machinery, to make the United States the first agricultural nation in the world. That is precisely what Mr. McCormick wants. What patriot can want anything less? And what person can hope, even when the millennium has been passed a half-dozen miles, that industry in America can be dissociated from nationalism, or that social welfare can be dissociated from industry? Hope lies rather in social and industrial aims being synonymous.

There are evidences of the spirit of Mr. McCormick other than the alfalfa train and the educative lecture and bulletin courses the Harvester Company has been spending a great deal to give through the past years. It happens that Government examiners and other social investigators find conditions in the twenty Harvester plants admirable, and the worker everywhere in them a worker reckoned worthy of more than his hire.

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They find twenty superintendents made absolutely responsible for the welfare of forty thousand employees. They find that before there was even agitation for minimum wage laws the company had established its own law. It established also, before any State compensation statute, its own compensation laws. And six years ago it established a pension system without kicking out all its old employees preparatory to doing so; and every year since then it has subscribed fifty thousand dollars to help develop a mutual benefit association to which three-fourths of the forty thousand employees now belong. There are other manifestations, even in the four plants abroad, it is said, of a healthy co-operative spirit that finds expression in safety, sanitation, provisions for the Americanization of foreigners, the education of grade school apprentices, for medical inspection and treatment of every one, for tuberculosis work that has brought, in the Chicago plants at least, the consumptive rate in this, a not too healthy industry, down below that of the surrounding community. The Harvester Company, in short, is a social institution a great deal more in consonance with American spirit than an organized charity society, necessary though such society is till the State and corporation and partnership each prevent its quota of poverty and incapacitation as well, or even a little better, than the International. It is indeed a sort of settlement house in its neighborhood, and its neighborhood is its factories, wherever its workers live. In clubhouses and elsewhere it recreates. It anticipates social legislation, experiments in it, educates.

Mr. McCormick grows enthusiastic as soon as welfare work is mentioned. "Welfare work is an unfortunate name," he repeats. "It suggests charity, but wherever you find it mixed with charity you find it resulting in failure. No American wants charity."

"You are doing welfare work, then," one observes, casually, "to placate labor—"

Mr. McCormick glared over his silver-rimmed glasses. He ran his chair forward on its casters, caught his hands hard on the edge of his table, then worked them farther and farther across its glass top, till he rose.

"We have done nothing to placate labor," he said, decisively. "We have no trouble with labor. We built up our welfare work at first because, as I said, it is right to do so. We did not even know then that it increased the efficiency of the worker."

"And yet you have machines that cripple—"

He went on so earnestly that there remained little room for doubt: "We do not contract for a machine without stipulating that it be made as safe as possible before it leaves its factory. It is only natural for us to want our machines absolutely safe, because we hold ourselves responsible not only for the safety of our employees but for their general health, which is a much broader problem."

"But suppose that one of your machines, a patent for which you hold, a valuable machine, persisted in injuring men."

He listened attentively.

"Suppose that you do your utmost to make this machine safe, and yet it goes on injuring men. You realize that the supremacy of your company in a certain field rests on your using this machine. That fact would make the machine very valuable industrially, wouldn't it?"

"Yes, it would," he assented.

"But the machine goes on nipping off right arms, and you can't make it safe."

"That machine would go out of the works," he burst in, so conclusively that one abruptly remembers hearing that he drew the issue clearly in a directors' meeting—welfare work or dividends—and won a reduction in dividends before the meeting was done.

"But suppose," he was asked, "you had a whole factory of such machines, then logically the whole factory would go?"

"There can be no dispute if the question is merely humanity *versus* industrial supremacy," he said, evenly. "To supply the needs of man, miners go down into mines and lose their lives, and they are heroes, and fishermen go out in dories, and engineers send locomotives coursing down steel rails and kill. But beyond the necessary requirements of man no employer is justified in maintaining any machine, or any factory, that kills. There can be no issue between the death of one man and the use of a machine so long as the only motive in the keeping of that machine is the gaining of industrial supremacy."

He shoved his chair back, rose to his feet, sauntered to the window.

"You said that welfare work increases efficiency—it pays?"

He turned about. "Yes, it increases efficiency; it pays. It pays because it increases the sense of co-operation."

He lingered on the word "co-operation." He has caught the real spirit of that word

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from so much preaching of it; that is why he seems such a democrat—perhaps partly why one feels one has met him before.

"The fact that it increases efficiency is what makes a business man so enthusiastic over it. Its development is full of promise. It is not charity. It is co-operation; it is partnership."

He went on, and his voice fairly sang.

"The workers want co-operation, the employers want co-operation; and this sense of co-operation between employer and employee is increasing the efficiency and the reward of labor and leader simultaneously; it is bringing them together; it is leading to something new."

Mr. McCormick does not know precisely what this "something new" is, yet it is quite patent to him that American industry is indisputably groping in a new tendency. Quite unconsciously, perhaps, he is taking an important part in giving direction to this tendency, and the historian a few decades hence may point back to him and to other American big business men who do not talk Socialism, who flee the word, but who do vastly more than thousands of parlor impossibilists to bring about an ideal industrial condition. The secret law of feudal business is to utilize necessity to drive an employee, to assume that all employees are laggards and none would work if he did not have to work, to keep all poor therefore, pay them as little as one can, to pander to public opinion, and when legislation and the unions and patriotic agitators jack pay up then to hold to universal encouragement of every institution that enhances large families, that fosters amusements, the saloons, every expenditure that can help keep the worker mercilessly at toil. There are corporation despots who have been feudal despots calmly watching the labor volcano seethe. Though prices go low or high, though feudal lord be textile king or street-car potentate, feudal business warfare has to go. Mr. McCormick has progressed from the field of feudal business; he and his men are well on the way to the "something new."

"You say the big unit," he is asked, "the unit growing bigger and bigger, is inevitable?"

He nodded. "Yes," he said, decisively.

"You say that welfare work helps co-operation, co-operation helps efficiency, and the one rule of business is the rule of efficiency?"

He caught in enthusiastically.

"Your diagnosis is excellent," he exclaimed. "We *are* going forward to something new. There is tremendous promise in the growing sense of co-operation everywhere. There is something new—"

"And that?"

"Is, I believe, mutuality—absolute business mutuality."

He smiled, went back to his desk.

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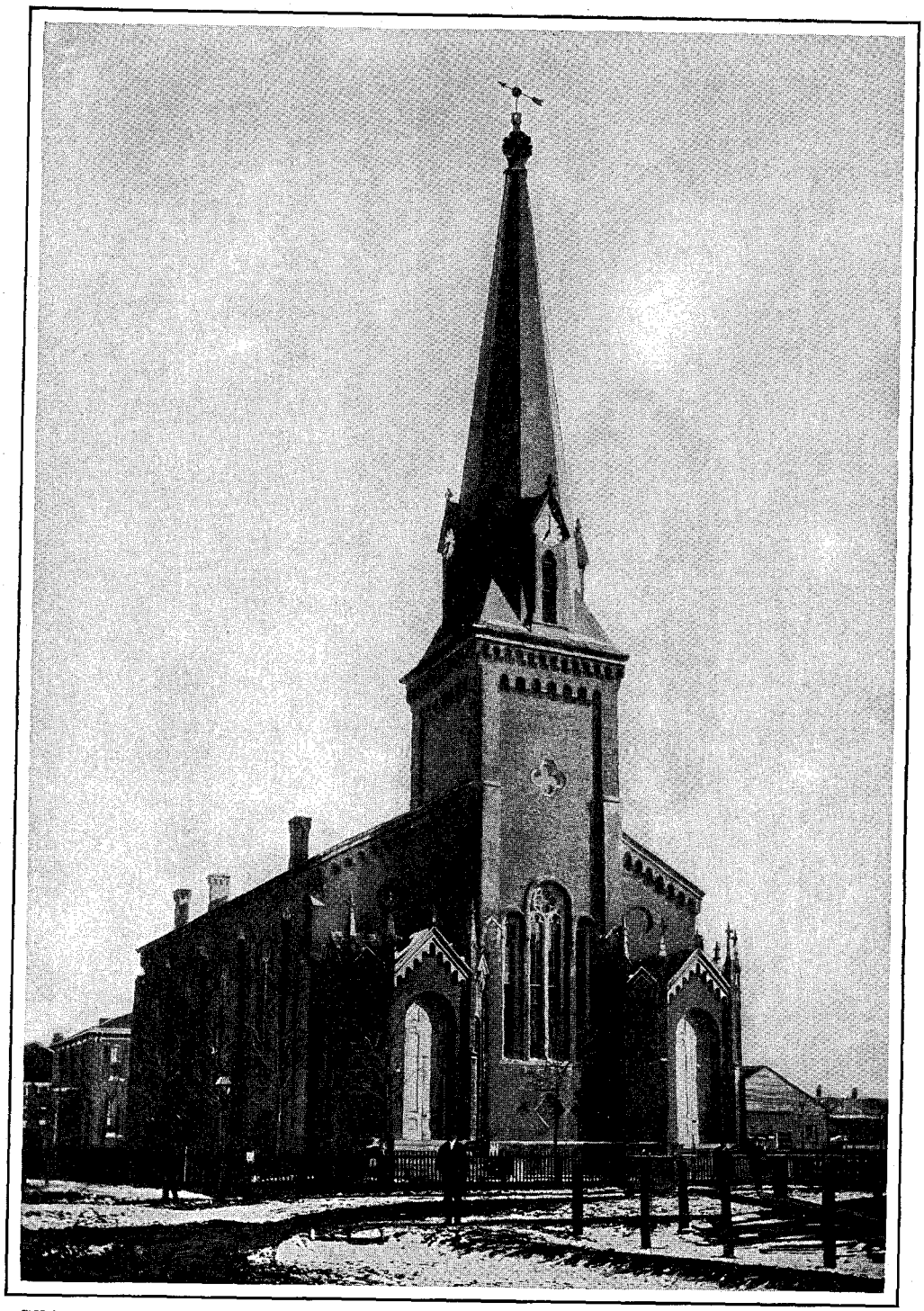

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AT TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA, WHERE LYMAN ABBOTT WAS SETTLED DURING THE CIVIL WAR. A NEW CHURCH HAS RECENTLY BEEN ERECTED A FEW BLOCKS FROM THIS CHURCH

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# REMINISCENCES[1]

## BY LYMAN ABBOTT

### CHAPTER IX

## A MID-WESTERN PARISH DURING THE CIVIL WAR

IN 1860 Terre Haute was a town of eighteen thousand inhabitants, situated a little south of the center of the State of Indiana, but on its extreme western border, not over six or seven miles from the eastern border of Illinois. It had two Methodist churches, one Baptist, one Episcopal, two Presbyterian (one of them Old School, one New School), a Campbellite, a Universalist, a German Lutheran, and a Roman Catholic church, in addition to the Congregational church to which I was temporarily called. It had also a school for the higher education of girls, known as a "Female College," and a State normal school, though I am not quite sure but that the latter was placed in Terre Haute a little later. The Polytechnic School, which is now one of the features of the city and one of the educational features of the State, was a later creation. But already in 1860 the city was something of an educational as it was something of a railway center.

The first settlers of the town had been largely French, and had given to the town its name—High Land. To one accustomed to the hills of New England it was not very high. It stood on a bluff rising probably between one and two hundred feet from the western edge of the Wabash River and about fifty feet above the prairie, which extended to the south and east. The local pronunciation gave two syllables to the first word—thus: Ter-ră Hōt. The brakeman on the train usually called out "Tar-hot." I wrote to my father-in-law in June following our arrival: "Terre Haute is a very beautiful town. A German and Irish immigration has filled up a part of this town, as of every one in the West. Pigs ornament the streets, and a part of the town is anything but attractive. But that which is occupied by the finer residences is very beautiful. The homes are surrounded by grounds and by fruit trees, many of them by beautiful gardens." The "best people" of the city were mostly from the Middle States—Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, Maryland; a number also from Kentucky. There were only two New England families in my congregation, and, so far as I know, they were the only ones in town. "Yankee" was distinctly a term of opprobrium. It did not take my wife long to find this out. We speedily came to regard ourselves as coming, not from Massachusetts, but from New York.

Mr. Ryce, who had conducted the correspondence with me, and who had recently moved into one of the finest houses in the city and on one of its best streets, within a few blocks of the church, sent to Cincinnati for the furniture to furnish a large spare room, and as soon as it came he and his wife made us their guests, overruling our protests and overcoming our hesitation. A large room in the third or attic story was given to me for my study. A large table served the purpose of both desk and bookcase, for my library did not contain over a score of books—perhaps not so many.

I soon found that it was customary not to open the church for service on stormy Sunday evenings. The attendance was so small that it was thought not worth while. I asked Mr. Ryce if he closed his store on stormy days. "Certainly not." "Yet I imagine the attendance of customers is small." "Surely." "It would not be good business, would it?" "Certainly not." "Neither," I suggested, "is it good business to close the church. Let us keep it open; but let it be understood that there are only two persons whose duty it is to be present—the sexton and the preacher. If no one else comes, we will close the church and go home." We never had to close the church. The fact that the minister took the Sunday evening service seriously inclined others in the church to do so also. Partly this reason, partly curiosity to hear the new minister, added considerably to the evening congregation. I very soon organized a congregational Bible class which met one evening in the week at private houses. Membership was not confined to members of my own congregation; nor was any kind of faith or unfaith a condition of or a bar to membership. One member was an extreme Calvinist

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from the Old School Presbyterian Church, who lived under the shadow of a perpetual doubt whether he was one of the elect, and always said, "*If* I am a Christian," and "*If* I ever get to heaven." He said to me once, in a burst of confidence, "I sometimes think I stand up so straight that I lean over backwards." I was of the same opinion, but whether I told him so I do not know. Probably not. It is not always best to agree with a man too cordially when he is confessing a fault. Another member had been brought up under Theodore Parker in Boston and Dr. Furness in Philadelphia, and had never attended church, I believe, before I came, though his wife had a seat in the church and his children were in the Sunday-school. The subject of our study was the life of Christ. There was absolute and untrammeled freedom of opinion; equal facility for the Calvinist to insist on verbal inspiration, and for the theist to deny all miracles and to interpret Christ's cursing of the fig tree as a sign of ill temper. It required a little tact and occasional authority to prevent a debate, but not much. It required a good deal of preparatory study to make myself ready to meet so wide a range of opinion and questionings. But familiarity with the life of Christ was what I pre-eminently needed for my ministry. My class compelled me to acquire that familiarity, but it did for me much more. It enabled me, nay, it compelled me, to see how the life and teachings of Jesus Christ seemed to the average layman when applied to his life and his beliefs. I was able to get from my class, what the preacher is not able to get from his congregation, an immediate response; to see what the Gospels meant, not in the original Greek to the disciples in the first century, but in the English tongue and in their modern applications to all sorts and conditions of men in the nineteenth century. In short, it enabled me to study the Gospels not merely as literature, but as a guide to life. Thus the class furnished me with many a sermon, and I continued to carry out the plan my father had advised and I had adopted, of getting my equipment for the pulpit by a general study of the Bible, especially of the Gospels, and my themes from a study of my congregation. In this class I could do both at the same time and by the same process. That year's work in the life of Christ laid the foundation, not only for the life of Christ which I subsequently wrote, but for my life teaching of ethical, social, and spiritual themes.

We were very pleasantly situated at Mr. Ryce's. Mr. and Mrs. Ryce were hospitality incarnate and urged us to remain; at least not to attempt to move until cooler weather. There seemed to be no danger that we should outstay our welcome. But we did not wish to stay its full measure. There were many reasons why it was better for us to have a home of our own. Boarding was not congenial either to my wife or to myself; and board was not easy to obtain. "If," wrote my wife to her father, "we could have found a comfortable boarding-house, we should have done so, probably. But people here go to housekeeping on so small a scale that very few board or are prepared to receive boarders. As soon as a man has saved enough to buy a little lot of ground he builds the smallest thing for a house that he can live in, and only adds to it upon the greatest necessity. Those who are more abundantly supplied with 'the needful' have fine houses and gardens, but they do not like to take boarders and will not let houses, except such as are built in the small way of this country especially for renting."

This letter was written on August 4, four months after our arrival at Terre Haute. What had become of my original plan to spend the summer in Terre Haute and return in the fall, or in the following spring at the latest? "Man proposes; God disposes." Our proposal had been necessarily disposed of by the course of events. That the reader may understand those events, I must drop this narration at this point, and ask him to go back with me a quarter of a century to the history of the origin and development of the church to which I had been brought.

In 1834 (the year before I was born) a young man, Rev. Merrick A. Jewett, started from Baltimore on horseback to ride to St. Louis, Missouri, in search of a missionary field in the Far West. His theological education had been secured under an independent Presbyterian clergyman of Baltimore, and he was himself an independent in temperament and conviction. Whether he planned the horseback ride of a thousand miles because he thought it would restore his health or because he had so much health that he anticipated enjoyment from the ride, I do not know. He stopped on a Saturday noon in Terre Haute at the only inn of any pretension then in what was at that time a village of about eight hundred people.

"As the stranger came up from dinner

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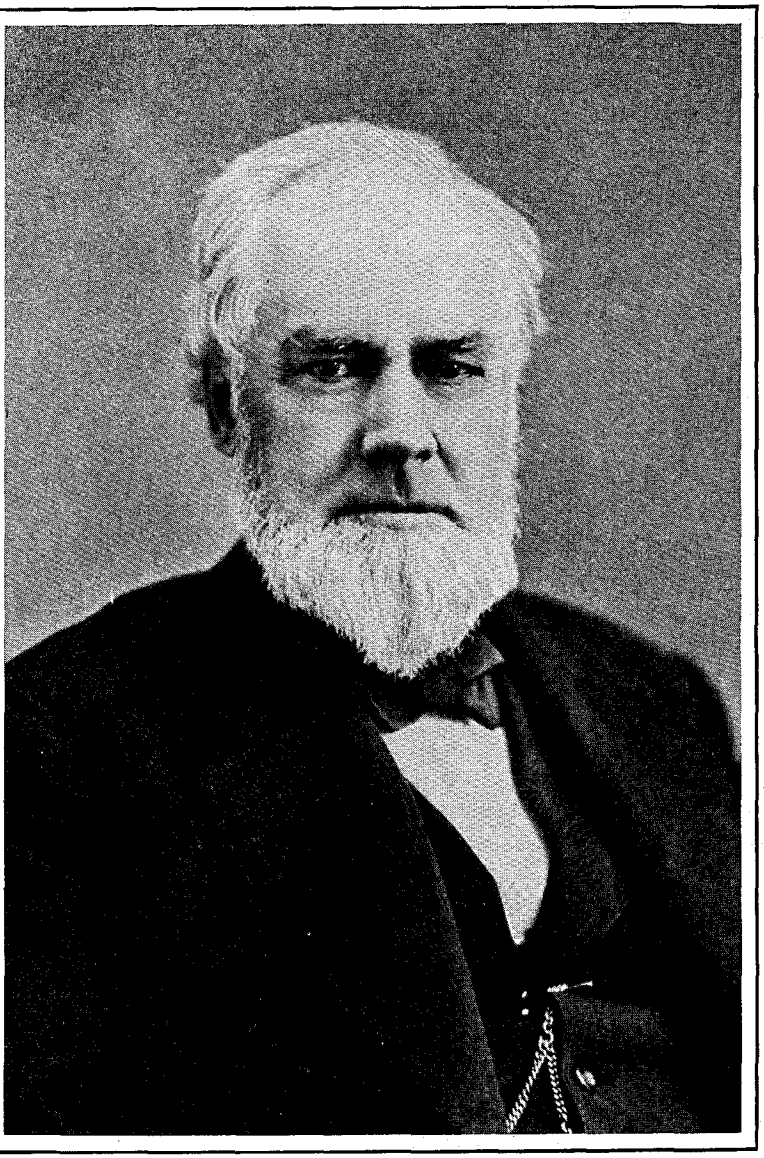

PHOTOGRAPH BY C. D. FREDERICKS & CO., NEW YORK

LUCIUS RYCE

Mr. Ryce conducted the correspondence which resulted in the settlement of Dr. Abbott in the pastorate of the Congregational church at Terre Haute. He "was my best friend and my wisest adviser"

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and stood upon the generous portico which extended over the sidewalk, across the entire front of the old tavern, his horse having been fed and brought from the stable, ready for him to resume his journey, he found a group of men examining his horse and commenting on its strength and beauty. In answer to a question from Captain Wasson, the landlord, as to ownership, Mr. Jewett stepped forward and said that the horse belonged to him. 'And who are you, sir?' 'My name is Jewett; I am from Baltimore. I am a minister of the Gospel on my way to St. Louis to seek a field of labor,' was the answer. 'And did you ride that horse all the way from Baltimore?' Upon receiving an affirmative answer, one of the company said, 'You needn't be in a hurry—just stay over Sunday, and it sha'n't cost you a cent, and we will have you preach for us.' These gentlemen, Mr. Jewett's first acquaintances, having prevailed upon the young minister to remain with them, although none of them were church members, used every effort to get a large congregation for the Sunday service. They secured the court-house, swept it out themselves, rang the bell, and by personal effort secured a large attendance. After the morning service notice was given that there would be preaching in the evening at early candlelight, and as many as could make it convenient were asked to bring a candle."[1]

The young preacher had never addressed such a congregation. The congregation had never heard such a preacher. The population was not a church-going population. There had been attempts to establish a Presbyterian church, but without success. There was a little Methodist church which was visited with more or less regularity by a circuit preacher. Otherwise the town depended on the court-house for a church building and any preacher who happened to come that way for church services. The people thought the time had come when the village should have a church. An impromptu town meeting was called; resolutions were passed that it was highly desirable that the preaching of the Gospel should be established in Terre Haute and that the Rev. Merrick A. Jewett was eminently qualified to discharge successfully the sacred duties devolving upon the pastor of a church; a salary was pledged and a committee was appointed to ascertain from him whether he would consent to settle in the town as a minister of the Gospel. This was on the 13th day of November, 1834. His consent having been obtained, he went home to bring his bride back with him. Whether she came on horseback also history does not inform us. Immediately on his return, on the 29th day of December, 1834, the pastor-elect of the church, which as yet had no existence, invited all who loved Jesus Christ to meet together and organize a church. Six men and five women responded to the call. Behind them stood a considerable number of citizens who were not prepared to unite with the church, but were prepared to give it financial support.

The church thus organized continued for six years without any formal creed or any ecclesiastical connection with any of the denominations. Because it was not anything else it was Congregational, or, to use the more accurate English equivalent, Independent, and Mr. Jewett was re-engaged from year to year. Not until 1850 was the church formally received by a Council into the fellowship of the Congregational churches; at the same time Mr. Jewett was formally installed as its pastor. This occurred, however, approximately as soon as there were enough Congregational churches in the vicinity to make such fellowship real and effective.

In this history of the church I have thus far followed its official or semi-official records. It is interesting, however, to add that at the time of my life in Terre Haute I was informed that the chairman of the town meeting which invited Mr. Jewett to organize a church and which pledged to him a salary was a well-known gambler, but a public-spirited citizen, who interested himself in getting a church in Terre Haute as he might have interested himself in getting a railway, a school, or a library, and no more thought it necessary to be a member of the church than he would have thought it necessary to be a stockholder in the railway, a pupil in the school, or a reader of the books. And I have narrated this history at some length because it is the only instance with which I happen to be acquainted in which a minister has been requested by a town meeting to organize a church and the church so organized has lived and prospered without any creed of any description either express or implied. That an entire community should recognize the need of a church, as it might recognize the need of a fire department or a public school system, seems to me to lend

[1] From a paper read by Mr. Frederick A. Ross at the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the First Congregational Church of Terre Haute.

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confirmation to the saying of Sabatier that "man is incurably religious." That a church should live and prosper for years without a creed seems to me to lend confirmation to the doctrine of Martineau which I will state in his own words: "Christianity is a divine dispensation for bringing men into conscious union with the Holiest of all, with the Father through the Son: a Church is an institution embodying and applying the distinctively Christian requisites to this end—the dying away to sin and self, and the rising into goodness and love by filial surrender to the Perfect Will. To these (in the fundamental basis of the Church) nothing must be added; from these nothing must be taken."

The church in Terre Haute prospered both spiritually and financially. Its spiritual development received an impetus from a temperance and religious revival that occurred simultaneously in 1842, at which time one hundred and twenty were added to the church. In this double revival Henry Ward Beecher, then settled over a Presbyterian church in Indianapolis, and Mr. Jewett worked together, Mr. Beecher coming over to Terre Haute, Mr. Jewett going over to Indianapolis, that the two might conduct a joint campaign. The first church edifice was wrecked by a tornado in 1853, on a Wednesday evening, just as the sexton was ringing the bell for evening service. He nervously assured a church officer who hurried to the scene of the disaster that he had held on to the bell rope as long as he could. The disaster proved a blessing, as disaster is apt to do when met with courage. A new brick edifice was constructed with funds raised by selling its pews in advance, the purchasers of which included most of the substantial citizens of the town, irrespective of their denominational affiliations. When I reached Terre Haute in 1860, the church occupied the largest church building in the town, and its membership on the roll numbered upwards of two hundred, though I am afraid the roll included a considerable number of absentees.

Dr. Jewett had enjoyed an unusually successful pastorate. Answering a call extended to him by a town meeting, he had developed out of a membership of eleven members a large and flourishing church, the most influential church in the city, and one of the larger and more influential of the Protestant churches in the State. He had accomplished this result in spite of no little difficulty. Why he resigned I never knew. But twenty-five years is for America an extraordinarily long pastorate, and sometimes the minister, like the statesman, wishes to test his constituency, and the only way he has of asking for a vote of confidence is to offer his resignation. If Dr. Jewett resigned because he desired a vote of confidence, he had given to him such a vote in the most significant manner possible. The church met his resignation by giving him a year's vacation and agreeing to provide for the pulpit during his absence. It was to furnish this supply that I had come to Terre Haute. The month after my arrival his resignation was repeated. A council of churches was called, as is customary in such cases, to give its counsel. It advised the church to accept the resignation, and the church acted on this advice, but not without serious opposition. The church accepted the resignation by a vote of thirty-six to twelve; the congregation by fifty-seven to fifty. Despite repeated invitations, Dr. Jewett never preached in the pulpit of that church again, though once he united with me in administering the communion and once joined with me and other ministers in speaking at a union meeting.

The inevitable result followed: a division of the church and congregation for the time into two factions—Jewettites and Abbottites. Under these circumstances, had we left at the close of the summer, our leaving would have converted a comparatively quiet difference of sentiment into an open church quarrel. It would have been said with truth that I had been driven from my post; would have seemed to be, and in fact would have been, a soldier's desertion of his post because it was a post of difficulty. Neither my wife nor I had any desire to be "quitters." I had no reason to doubt the loyalty of the church and the congregation as a whole. "The strong men of the church," I wrote to my father-in-law, "are all united, and only one of any strength financially in the congregation is at all disaffected, and I do not *think* he is." Our confidence in the church was expressed in the best possible way, by hiring a house for the rest of the season for which I was originally engaged—that is, until the spring of 1861.

The threatened division in the church was not our only problem. In the summer of 1860 God had given us our second child, a daughter. This was one reason why we had gone to housekeeping. How to support a

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wife and two children on one thousand dollars a year, and live and dress as the pastor of the most aristocratic and influential church in the city was expected to live and dress, was an economic problem of no little difficulty.

There are two ways of carrying out my father's wise advice, "Always spend less than you earn." One is to decrease expenditures; the other is to increase income. If you pursue the first course, you take what is coming to you and expend no more. If you pursue the second course, you make a budget of your needs and proceed to earn it. We pursued both courses. I had read in John Stuart Mill that it is a fair division of labor between husband and wife if the husband earns the money and the wife expends it. Always has it seemed to me a shameful humiliation for a husband to require his wife to come to him for every item of money she wants as she wants it. My wife had an allowance paid to her as regularly as my money was paid to me. The allowance was determined in conference between us, and its amount depended on our annual income. My wife set her wits to work to keep household and personal expenses within this allowance. The only fault that I could ever find with her administration was that too large a share of the allowance went to the household, too small a share to herself.

In choosing our one-storied cottage for our residence we had cut our garment according to our cloth. It was a very small garment; but then we had very little cloth. My memory of this cottage home is of the vaguest. As I recall it, on one side of a little hallway was our bedroom; on the other side the parlor. Off the parlor was a little cubby-hole of a room, just big enough for a table and one chair. This was my study. The few books I possessed found book-room in the parlor. But as it was much more important that I should know my people than that I should know my books, this was not a serious disadvantage. How often have I come out of that study into the parlor for a book entirely oblivious of the caller sitting there, until my wife waked me out of my dreamland with the words, "Lyman, Mrs. —— is calling on us!" How often did I in my absent-mindedness cut the people of my parish in the street! I wonder they never resented it. Perhaps sometimes they did, and my absent-mindedness prevented me from recognizing their resentment.

While my wife saved money I set to work to earn some. I began sending occasional contributions to the Eastern press, chiefly to the Boston "Recorder," one of the ancestors of the Boston "Congregationalist," and to the New York "Independent;" also occasionally one to the "Wabash Magazine," a publication of Wabash College at Crawfordsville, Indiana. I think I never wrote unless I had something which I wished to say to another audience than my Terre Haute congregation. The pay was very little; often there was none. But at a time when an unexpected bill of ten dollars kept me awake half the night wondering how I could meet it, a very little payment was gladly welcomed. Two years later my Uncle John was engaged in writing for a subscription publisher a history of the Civil War—writing as the war progressed. He employed me to write for him an account of the Western campaign, though this was not until the year 1863.

A more immediate source of income in that first year, 1860–1, was teaching. As I was the latest comer to the Terre Haute pulpit, it was natural to invite me to give the Commencement address in the summer of 1860 for the Terre Haute Female College. The literary reputation of the Abbott family was sufficient to justify the appointment. I had never heard of the composite authorship of the Pentateuch, or of the priestly and the prophetic documents; but I recognized, as the most casual reader of Genesis cannot fail to recognize, that it contains two stories of the creation and that they are not altogether harmonious. The first chapter declares that God made man in his own image—"male and female created he them"—the woman as truly in the divine image as the man. The third chapter declares that God made man first and woman as an afterthought to be his "helpmeet." This contrast furnished the basis of my Commencement address. The world, I said, has accepted the second narrative; has treated woman as made for man; and has shaped and fashioned her education accordingly. She has sometimes been his servant, sometimes his parlor ornament, sometimes his companion; but always measured by her adaptation to his service. The first narrative furnishes us with a very different ideal of woman and her place in creation. She is no more made for man than man for her. They are made for each other. It is true that to be a wife and a mother is the highest function a woman can fulfill. But it is no less true

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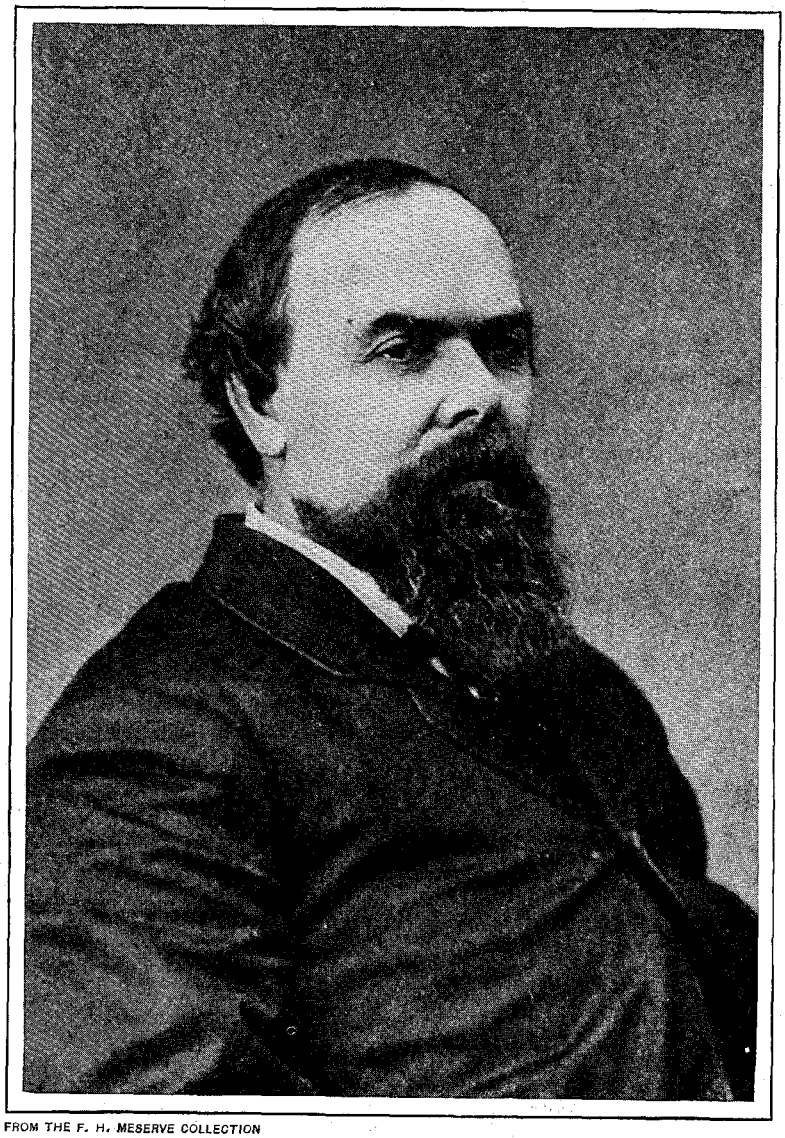

FROM THE F. H. MESERVE COLLECTION

OLIVER P. MORTON

The famous War Governor of Indiana

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that to be a husband and a father is the highest function a man can fulfill. She is no more to be educated for him than he is to be educated for her; no more to be educated to be a wife and a mother than he is to be a husband and a father. She is to be educated to be a *woman*, as he is to be a *man*.

This was more radical doctrine then than now; though as far removed from John Stuart Mill's doctrine that there is no inherent difference between man and woman as it is from the barbarian's doctrine that the difference is that between a superior and an inferior. The address attracted some attention and was welcomed by the college as a true interpretation of its ideals; and in the autumn I was engaged for a time to act as chaplain to the college and to teach the senior class philosophy. At the same time I had an opportunity to do some tutoring in my home for a private pupil. My wife, in a letter to her father, gave the following account of my pastoral and other activities:

"Lyman has gone to the death-bed of a lady, a prominent member of the church and a valuable member of society. On Monday a gentleman, a member of our church, accidentally shot himself while on his way home from a hunting expedition which he had undertaken for the benefit of his health, and lived but a moment. Last night a young man died—a son of another church member. If Lyman keeps well under all this pressure, I shall be very thankful. His duties at the *college* and the *student who recites* to him daily occupy a good share of the forenoon, and then his sermon, *Bible class*, and church meetings must be prepared for, and all the duties which sickness and death bring to a pastor are a heavy load for him to carry. Then at night he is a good deal disturbed by the children; and of course much of the household care comes upon him."

To this letter I added a protesting postscript. "Abby is mistaken. She positively refuses to let me hold the baby for five consecutive minutes. She is working a great deal harder than I am." An amusing incident confirms this postscript. One night, after my wife had been up with the baby for several hours, and finally succeeded in getting her to sleep, I insisted that she go into an adjoining room for at least an hour's nap and leave baby in my charge, and this she very reluctantly consented to do. She had hardly fallen asleep when she was awakened by hearing the baby crying, and the cradle—for in those days we believed in cradles—thumping against the side of the bed. In vain she tried to sleep. At last, overcoming her reluctance to disappoint me by taking back her charge from my ineffective hands, she got up and came into the room. The baby was kneeling in the crib, rocking it vigorously to and fro, and pouring her woes into my ear while I slept on undisturbed. My wife quieted the baby, got into bed, and went to sleep; and I never knew what had happened until she told me in the morning when I complained to her that she had not slept the night out in the adjoining room. I have never been a good night nurse, but perhaps the fact that I am so sound a sleeper may have something to do with my general good health and my quick recovery from occasional disease.

It is easier to report a man's labors than his wife's economies. They are so minute that he rarely knows them, and so habitual that she is hardly conscious of them. I have come across some letters of my wife's written to her father about this time, which will give a better idea of some of our household perplexities and how they were met than I could possibly give. From them I select one:

"Thursday Morn. Have just come from market—it is not yet five o'clock. The market house is but a short distance from here, and as soon as it is light we can see people hastening there. This is the first year market has been opened every morning. But we cannot get meat elsewhere, and in the hot weather people do not like to get meat to keep over a day. I should guess there were some fifteen or twenty meat stalls inside the market. The countrymen with butter, eggs, fruit, and vegetables stand outside.

"To-day, the 26th of June, there were new potatoes, young beets, turnips, onions, radishes, lettuce, cabbages, green peas, 'string' beans, carrots, spring chickens, red and black raspberries, currants, cherries, green gooseberries; I saw no strawberries, though there were some in town last evening. Shall I tell you what I got? First, a little piece of beefsteak for dinner. I shall not be at home, Lyman is away, so I got a very small piece for a dime; three bunches of beets (five in each), a dime; two quarts of 'string' beans, a dime; two pounds of butter, two dimes; two spring chickens, alive, two dimes; three

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quarts raspberries, three dimes. The chickens are for supper for Lyman, who will, we expect, come home this afternoon."

The servant problem appears to have been in all ages of the world and in all communities unsolved if not unsolvable. I sometimes wish that a part of the feminine energies which are now being directed to the determination of political issues could be directed to deciding aright the more important question how so to adjust and administer the home as to make domestic service a recognized and honored vocation. There were in Terre Haute in 1860–5 some peculiar difficulties in this problem. There was in the city no intelligence office to which servants could go to find a place or housekeepers to find a servant. If a lady wished a maid, she told her friends, the report of her need was circulated, and if any friend of hers knew of a maid, or any friend of a maid seeking a place happened to hear of this lady, the information was given. This process produced sometimes singular servants and, I presume, also singular mistresses. One maid I happen to remember whose perpetual surprise furnished us with perpetual amusement. She had come from southern Illinois, popularly dubbed "Egypt." She looked on with wonder when my wife rolled the dining-table to one side to sweep, for never before had she seen a table "on wheels;" when, in dusting the piano, the keys struck the wires and some notes were sounded, she expressed her bewilderment by the phrase, "Why, the critter speaks, doesn't he?" When my wife lighted the gas, she fled in terror half-way across the room from the magic which brought a flame of fire from the wall. But the climax came when she asked my wife to lend her a "ridding comb." My wife caught her desire for a fine-tooth comb, and the reason for the name she gave it more quickly than I did.

Despite my additional earnings, which were small, and my wife's economies, which were great, we should have found it difficult indeed to live within our income had it not been for the chronic hospitality of our people. Their gifts were of almost daily occurrence. Fruits and vegetables from the gardens and bakings from the kitchens were continually left by considerate parishioners at our cottage door. I recall one young man, who was more familiar with the game of poker than with either church or prayer-meeting, who used to bring to us prairie chickens on his return from his hunting expeditions in the neighboring State of Illinois, and another gentleman, a member of the congregation, but not of the church, the owner and driver of a beautiful span of horses, who, when he was in town, came every few weeks to take my wife and, when my engagements permitted, myself for a drive. One summer my wife went East with the children. In her absence I was not allowed to live at home, but was made the guest of different households in the congregation. I accepted these invitations not to save money, but to save myself from homesickness; but they did save money.

So the summer wore away and the fall came on. Meanwhile came another cause of anxiety, far more serious than either the division in the church or the meager salary. The slavery question had driven all other questions out of politics. The issue as we look upon it now seems simple, but it did not seem simple then. It had destroyed the old parties and created new ones. The Whig party was dead; by its rejection of the great leader Daniel Webster and by its fatuous nomination of General Scott for the Presidency it had denied itself even an honorable burial. Some of the old Whigs joined the young Republican party, others the short-lived Native American party, others the National Democratic party. For the same issue which had destroyed the Whigs had divided the Democratic party into two irreconcilable wings. One, led by John Cabell Breckinridge, stood for the extreme Southern doctrine that Negro slavery was wholly just and that it was the right of the Southern slaveholder to take his property with him, not only into the National Territories, but into the Northern States. The logical advocates of this doctrine frankly declared that the sympathies of the world were against their contention. The Northern wing, led by Stephen A. Douglas, sought to compromise the irreconcilable conflict between the slave and free civilizations by leaving the first settlers in each Territory to determine the rights of both sections in that Territory. The Republican party pledged itself to no further extension of slavery; but the Republican party, as the election of Abraham Lincoln showed, had only a plurality, not a majority, of the voters, and was itself far from united. Its constituents included men who were as hostile to slavery as the abolitionists, but who thought the programme of the abolitionists impractical, and men as indifferent to slavery as the Douglas Democrats, but who thought the device of "squatter sovereignty" no solution

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of the National problem. In fact, there were thousands of voters in both parties who did not decide until November whether they would vote for Lincoln or Douglas. There was a little remnant who tried to content themselves by crying "Peace! Peace!" when there was no peace, but the vote for Bell and Everett, their candidates, showed them to be a negligible quantity.

This division in the Republican party was nowhere more marked than in Indiana. Henry S. Lane, who had come from the Whig party, represented the conservative element; Oliver P. Morton, who had been a Democrat, represented the progressive element. Happily for the party and for the State, a fusion of the two elements was effected—Mr. Lane was nominated for Governor and Mr. Morton for Lieutenant-Governor. Subsequent events justified the rumor that this nomination was the result of a "gentleman's agreement" between the two candidates. After the election of both Governor and Lieutenant-Governor by about ten thousand majority, Mr. Lane resigned and was elected United States Senator by a Republican Legislature, and Mr. Morton became Governor. He proved to be one of the great war Governors of the period. He was under forty years of age, a man of rare executive ability, of indomitable courage, of strong and clear convictions, and with the kind of eloquence which comes from the possession of such convictions and the ability to give them forceful expression. On the 10th of March, nearly three weeks before my arrival, he had spoken in Terre Haute at a ratification meeting, advocating squarely the Lincoln as opposed to the Douglas method, and had met the charge of being an abolitionist with characteristic frankness: "I am opposed to the diffusion of slavery. I am in favor of preserving the Territories to freedom, of encouraging, elevating, and protecting free labor; at the same time conscientiously believing that with slavery in the several States we have nothing to do and no right to interfere. If this makes me an abolitionist, then I am one, and my political enemies may make the most of it." It would have been well for the Republican party and for the country if all Republicans had possessed Governor Morton's courage and shared his convictions.

Usually in America the excitement of a campaign comes to an end on election night. The political foes of yesterday are friends to-morrow and the defeated share with the victors in rejoicing that the campaign is at an end and that business and social life can resume its normal course. It was not so in 1860. The election of Mr. Lincoln was the signal for increasing political excitement. The majority of the people in the North were dumfounded to find steps instantly taken to put in effect the pre-election threats of secession. The announcement of Mr. Lincoln's election on the evening of election day was greeted in Charleston, South Carolina, with cheers for the Southern Confederacy. The United States Judge and the United States District Attorney resigned. Their resignations were followed by the resignation of one of the United States Senators. The Legislature at once called a Convention to consider the state of the country. That the object of this Convention was to prepare for secession was well understood, though not formally avowed. There were unmistakable indications that other States were preparing to follow the lead of South Carolina.

For secession and its inevitable consequences the North was ill prepared. Brave men who were ready to meet the threatened war if it came yet confessed their dread of it. "The heavens are indeed black," wrote Senator Dawes, of Massachusetts, "and an awful storm is gathering. . . . I am well-nigh appalled at its awful and inevitable consequences." In every community were found Republicans who lamented that they had voted for Mr. Lincoln and frankly confessed that they would never have done so could they have foreseen the consequences. Some proposed to escape those consequences by surrender. Three days after the election of Mr. Lincoln Mr. Greeley wrote in the New York "Tribune:" "If the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." Others sought to avoid the threatened war by some new form of compromise. It was variously proposed to amend the Constitution so as to give all territory south of a certain line to slavery and all north of it to freedom; to provide that slavery should never be interfered with in the Territories; to recognize State rights and deny to the Federal Government the right of coercion; to bring about the resignation of Mr. Lincoln and a new election; to abolish the office of President altogether and substitute an executive council of three; to repeal the Personal Liberty Laws of the North, which had been enacted to prevent

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the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law; to amend that law so as to give the Negro a right to a jury trial; to provide for the payment to the slaveholder for rescued slaves by the county where the rescue had taken place. "No one," wrote Mr. Seward, "has any system, or any courage or confidence in the Union." This was said in Washington. In Indiana and Illinois it was seriously proposed to those States which lay along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, which could never permit their exit to the sea to pass through a foreign and hostile territory, that they join the Southern Confederacy, bring in Ohio and Pennsylvania and perhaps New York, and leave abolitionist New England out of the new Union; it would be what New England deserved, for the country would never have been brought to this pass had it not been for these Yankee agitators. It is useless to inquire what would have been the result if a Washington or a Jackson had been at the head of the Federal Government at this time. Mr. Buchanan had neither the wisdom of the one nor the courage of the other. He could not get above the arts of the politician. In his Message of December 4, to please the North he argued that no State had a right to secede; to please the South, that if a State did secede the Federal Government had no right to prevent the secession.

Such was the condition of the country in December, 1860. In such a time of conflicting counsels no man should be deemed a coward because he keeps silent, or as weak and vacillating because he is inclined to follow first one counsel and then another. Traditions are then of no avail, and most men are guided by traditions. Parties have dissolved, party platforms have disappeared, party allegiance no longer governs or even guides. The citizen is like a navigator who is separated from his fleet in a dense fog, hears whistles blowing in every direction, and knows not which are warnings of danger and which are calls to safety. If the fog has shut down suddenly and he knows not where he is, he does well to anchor or to slow down his engines and wait for the fog to lift. The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 left the country fog-bound. A minority of resolute spirits in the South were determined to dissolve the Union and erect a new Republic with slavery as its corner-stone. A minority of resolute spirits in the North were equally determined to maintain the Union and restrict slavery, expecting its eventual overthrow. But the great majority both South and North were doubtful, perplexed, anxious: not knowing what to think or which way to look for escape from impending calamity.

Prior to the election in November I do not recall that I spoke in the pulpit at all on the political issues. There were two reasons for this silence: one was my father's counsel, first to get my influence, then to use it; the other was that I did not wish to use it in favor of the election of the Republican candidate. I have never believed that the minister should be the advocate of a political party or a political candidate. He may urge temperance, but not the claims of the Prohibition party; social reform, but not the claims of the Progressive party; liberty, but not the claims of the Republican party. I do not know that I have ever departed from this principle in my pulpit utterances. I did not do so in Terre Haute. Nor was it likely that in the first few months of my ministry, a stranger among strangers, I could exert much influence on the moral issues involved. I had not that eloquence which gives the orator a power quite independently of his known character. I must secure the confidence of the community before I could even get a hearing. And this was the more important because there was little in common in our point of view. There was very little anti-slavery sentiment in Terre Haute; so little that when, two years later, a Republican orator—an officer in the Union army—was speaking at a mass-meeting in favor of enlisting the Negro in the Union cause, the sentiment which evoked the most uproarious applause was, "I hate a Nigger worse than I hate the devil."

But when, after the election, these impractical schemes of surrender, evasion, and compromise were everywhere discussed, I thought the time had come for me to speak. I was known; I believed I was respected; I was sure I should be listened to. And I was not mistaken. On the 9th of December, the Sunday following Mr. Buchanan's Message, I preached a sermon on the condition of the country. I had at least one equipment for the task. I did not share either the common surprise or the common perplexity. The reader may remember that in 1856 I had written to my cousin, now my wife, that I did not see how war could be avoided, and I hoped that, if it came, I might have some part in the battle for freedom. The threat of disunion, therefore, did

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not surprise me. Nor did it make me hesitate. For I preferred a divided country, one-half of it free, to a united country, all of it slave. I had made up my mind that the only possible settlement of the issue was to be found in the motto: "Liberty national, slavery sectional." And I was prepared to set that principle by the side of the current proposals of compromise for the popular judgment.

Before preaching the sermon I counseled with Mr. Ryce, who was my best friend and my wisest adviser. He was a lover of peace and hated strife. He advised me against speaking upon the subject at all. There were some weighty reasons for this counsel. Such a sermon would be an innovation, even a startling innovation. Whatever might be the custom in New England, the people of Indiana were not accustomed to political sermons. Mine would be the first one ever preached in a Terre Haute church. In fact, so far as I know, I was the only minister in the town who dealt with slavery at all in the pulpit throughout the Civil War. The people of Terre Haute were loyal; but many of them were Southern in their origin and in their sympathies, and would resent any anti-slavery utterances. The division in the church was not ended; it might break out again at any time—as indeed it did a little later. The epithet Unitarian had been applied to me but had not hurt me, because the people cared nothing for theological distinctions. But the epithet abolitionist would not be regarded so lightly. Such an utterance as I proposed would be perilous to the church and might be perilous to me. Party feeling ran very high. Lovejoy had been murdered in Illinois for his anti-slavery utterances. Anti-slavery meetings had been broken up by mobs and even practically forbidden in the East by the authorities. At the same time Mr. Ryce was careful to make it clear that neither he nor any one else in the church would attempt to interfere with my personal liberty. I had asked his advice, and he gave it to me.

It has been throughout my life my principle, not as clearly defined then as it has been since, to ask courage to tell me what to do and caution to tell me how to do it. I had left the law for the ministry partly that I might be free to minister directly to the spiritual life of the individual, partly that I might be able to take an active part in the solution of the great and, as I thought, fundamental moral question before the community. The opportunity was given me. I could not refuse it. But my friend's counsel enabled me to speak in such fashion as secured a patient and even a somewhat sympathetic hearing. The church was crowded; the Republican paper published the sermon in full. Even the Southern Democratic paper granted to its spirit a qualified commendation. The editor had evidently anticipated something a great deal worse. A critical editorial on the sermon he introduced as follows:

> While we by no means justify ministers of the Gospel, either North or South, in occupying the pulpit on the Sabbath for the purpose of molding political opinion, we nevertheless accord to Mr. Abbott sincerity of motive, and fully believe that he deemed it his imperative duty to speak out upon the awful crisis that hangs over our beloved country. We confess that we were agreeably surprised at some of the positions he assumed. Barring two or three extreme points, the address was much more conservative than we anticipated. We will not now allude to the exceptional points, but will do so hereafter, if we deem it necessary. We will say that if the clergymen in the North, for the last six years, had discussed the slavery question with the same moderation and brotherly love that Mr. Abbott did last night, there would not be half the excitement in the country in regard to it that there is.

The state of feeling in the city on the general subject is perhaps slightly indicated by the fact that when I reached home a little after midnight, having been kept at the newspaper office correcting the proof of the sermon, I found my wife very anxious lest I had been assaulted on the street, and just preparing to sally out in a search for me. And she was not easily alarmed.

Of this sermon I have no report. The printed report which I once had has disappeared, and any account which I might give from recollection would be untrustworthy and without value. I can only say that, on the one hand, I emphatically expressed my disbelief in the doctrines of the Garrisonian abolitionists, which I thought then and still think to have been not only impracticable but a cowardly evasion of responsibility; and, on the other hand, I declared, as I had done in the letter to my cousin printed in Chapter IV of these reminiscences, that the issue joined between North and South, union and secession, liberty and slavery, was one that could not be settled by any compromise, however sagaciously framed, but was a phase of the

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world-wide issue between a Christian and a pagan civilization.

When I was thinking of leaving the law for the ministry, I one day met Mr. Beecher on the ferry-boat, and the following colloquy ensued between us:

*H. W. B.* Abbott, I am glad to hear that you are thinking of going into the ministry. I hope you will go. The pulpit needs more progressive men. The pews are way ahead of the pulpit.

*Myself.* I don't know about that, sir. Seventeen men have just withdrawn in a body from Dr. Cheever's church on account of his anti-slavery preaching.

*H. W. B.* I would be glad to have all seventeen in Plymouth Church.

*Myself.* So you think it is Dr. Cheever's fault, do you?

*H. W. B.* N-n-n-o! It isn't the fault of a ram that he butts. It's his nature.

I then resolved that if I went into the ministry I would not be a butter. I preached my anti-compromise sermon and then left the issue alone; I neither defended it against hostile criticism nor supplemented it by other sermons along the same line. I believe that two families with Southern sympathies left the congregation in consequence of the sermon. But more came in to take their places, and in January the few pews that belonged to the church were all rented at a premium. At the same time the congregation authorized the trustees to re-engage me for another year at an increase of salary from one thousand dollars to twelve hundred dollars. So far, so good. I had the confidence of my church and congregation.

But after the Presidential nomination, in June or July, there was nothing that interested the people in Terre Haute except politics. The Sabbath services were well attended. But the prayer-meetings were not. We met in the Sunday-school room of the church, which occupied the basement and was of the same size as the audience-room above. A dozen or fifteen men and women scattered in the front seats of a room large enough to hold five or six hundred do not inspire social fellowship. I had always heard that the prayer-meeting is the thermometer of the church. The way to raise the mercury in the thermometer is to warm the room. I attempted to warm the room by raising the mercury—that is, to increase the spiritual life in the church by increasing the attendance on the prayer-meeting, instead of attempting to increase the attendance on the prayer-meeting by increasing the spiritual life of the church. If I were going into the pastorate again, I would not urge people to come to the prayer-meeting. I would endeavor to have one devotional meeting in the week to which persons of devotional temperament who were socially inclined would wish to come. I would seek quality, not quantity, and would prefer a dozen devout souls to a hundred who were not devout. Another lesson I learned that summer of 1860. The weekly prayer-meeting was held on Saturday evening. It seemed to me unfortunate to have all the devotional life of the church crowded into two days. As I made my pastoral calls and urged the women to come to the prayer-meeting, I discovered that they were all eager to come, but could not because Saturday night was set apart to get the children washed and the clothes laid out for Sunday. I quietly agitated for a change; there was no serious opposition; the change was made to Wednesday evening—and the attendance was no better. I then learned the difference between real reasons and good reasons—the reasons which have induced us to act and the reasons we give to others for our action. We give to others the reasons which we think will satisfy them. The mothers rightly thought I would put the welfare of the children above the welfare of the prayer-meeting. Hence the reasons they gave to me. Two years later I induced the church to run a partition across the Sunday-school room, making in one end of it two rooms connected by folding doors, one for my study, the other for a church parlor. The attendance jumped at once from fifteen or twenty to forty or fifty, sometimes a hundred. It was possible to hold a social prayer-meeting in a parlor; not possible to hold one in a lecture hall.

When Dr. Jewett returned to Terre Haute from the East I do not now remember. But not long after his return he began a series of Sunday morning services in the Court-House where twenty-six years before he began his pastorate. Something like a score of the congregation took their hymn-books from the church and joined him in these services. I do not know whether it was by deliberate design that this movement took place almost to a day the year after my arrival to supply his former pulpit. At the same time the reports were repeated that the young man now occupying the pulpit was not orthodox; that he

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had leanings towards Unitarianism; that there was danger that he would unsettle the faith of the church; that his friends had conspired to drive off the old pastor. Where did those reports come from? Where does gossip ever come from? Where do the weeds that spring up in the garden bed, to the great vexation of the gardener, come from? I do not know. But the fact that they came, and that no authoritative denial was given to them, widened the breach in the church.

All men love to watch a fight, and what fights are so well worth watching as a church fight? One of the local papers rather anticipated, but mildly deprecated, a split in the church. "This," said the "Weekly Atlas," "is the third division that has taken place in this church in the past twenty years, and yet there has been no serious backset or inconvenience experienced by the remaining congregation." The "Daily Evening Journal," a Democratic, not to say Copperhead, organ, and bitterly hostile to the young Yankee preacher, whose anti-slavery utterance had earned for the church on the street the sobriquet of "damned Abolition Church," cried, "St'boy!" "We attended," it said, "at the Court-House yesterday, and had the pleasure of hearing the Rev. M. A. Jewett preach a most excellent sermon. . . . In his allusions to the deplorable condition of our country his remarks were characterized by the true spirit of a Christian and patriot. There was none of that blood and thunder about it which we hear occasionally from pulpit ranters and miniature Beechers. It was truly refreshing to hear him."

If this Democratic organ could have incited a church division, it would have gladly done so. It lacked not the will, but the power. But all intention of starting a new church was disavowed by the attendants on the Court-House services. The object of the movement was declared to be to provide a service for people who went to no church at all, and who could not be persuaded to go into a church, but might attend a religious meeting in the Court-House. Thus interpreted, the movement was a sort of forerunner to those Sunday evening meetings in theaters and halls which have been organized in the last ten or fifteen years in many of our towns and cities. It is almost always wise to attribute a deed which is inherently good to a good motive, and if for any deed either one of two motives is possible, to assume that the action has sprung from the better motive. To preach in the Court-House to people who never go to church is in itself a very good deed. I assumed, and the church assumed with me, that this was the motive which inspired the Court-House services. I had learned from my father and my grandfather that it takes two to make a quarrel, and I resolved not to make one of the two. In this resolve I was thoroughly supported by my wife, who paid no attention to the prevailing gossip. When, which was not often, it got a chance to get in at one ear, it went straightway out of the other. The church took the same attitude and was inspired by the same spirit of peace and good will. I called on the members of my church who were taking an active part in the Court-House services and expressed my interest in their enterprise and my hope for its success. I treated it as an attempt by members of the church of which I was the pastor to preach the Gospel to a class in the community which no church was reaching. Nor was there any false pretense in this. If Dr. Jewett had come to me in the outset of the enterprise, I would have given to it every encouragement and support in my power. Even if the motives of those promoting the enterprise were somewhat mixed, what mattered that? Paul had given to us, pastor and church, the counsel for this crisis, and we acted on it: "Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will: . . . What then? Notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretense, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." It might not have been so easy to act on this principle, or perhaps I should rather say to maintain this spirit, if I had not been able to write at the time, "More strength and numbers have been added to our congregation, and, I think I can say, to our church, since I have come here than Dr. Jewett can possibly take away." The result was that when, at the end of three months, the Court-House services were discontinued, the members of our church and congregation came back with no sense of humiliating defeat; there were no asperities to be apologized for, no broken friendships to be reknitted, no wounded feelings to be healed. And I may add that if the experiment had proved a success, if out of it there had grown either a permanent mission or a new church, the results of this spirit would have been equally beneficial. In the one case the mission would have had the sympathy and support of the mother church; in

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the other case the two sister churches would have worked together in Christian fellowship.

I have described this threatened division in the church at greater length than the importance of the event may seem to justify, but it is not without its significance. A friend of mine tells me of an address which he once heard at an ordination service. The speaker said there was one statement in the New Testament which he had always found it difficult to believe: the statement that the devil entered into a man and made him dumb. "When," he said, "the devil enters into a church, he sets the people a-talking. If he only made them dumb, there is scarcely a church quarrel of any description which would not heal itself in three months." The leading men in the Terre Haute church were dumb for three months; and three months of silence sufficed to close the threatened breach. Dr. Jewett never resumed the pastorate. I find in the history of the church the statement that "from the date of his severance of his final connection with this church he divided his time between his home here, his farms, and his sons, and died at the home of his sons in Paris, Texas, 1879, in the seventy-fifth year of his age."

In the midst of this threatened division of the church came the assault on Fort Sumter and the President's call for volunteers. Before that call had come Governor Morton had sent to the President the following telegram: "On behalf of the State of Indiana, I tender to you for the defense of the Nation, and to uphold the authority of the Government, ten thousand men." All thoughts of compromise were for the time being at an end. The slavery question was forgotten. The only issue recognized by the people was, Has the Nation a right to exist? The preservation of the country was the theme of sermons in some churches, of prayers in many churches. Guards were necessary to protect some of the extreme Democratic newspapers from mob violence. Volunteers poured in upon the recruiting officers. The difficulty was to exclude those too old and those too young for the service. The story was told of one boy in Terre Haute, under the necessary age and under the necessary height, a little fellow but lithe and eager, who found himself about to be rejected. They asked him how much he weighed; he jumped up, clapped his feet together twice before he came down, replied, "A ton and a half," and got in. Companies came forward without orders in the mere hope that they would be accepted. Men who could not get companies at home came alone or in squads to the rendezvous and joined in the general clamor to be taken. Within a week the quota of Indiana was filled more than twice over. A camp was organized in the outskirts of Terre Haute, where on the 27th of May I preached a sermon on the text, "In the name of our God we set up our banners." The choir sang at the opening of the service "The Star-Spangled Banner." The Democratic paper advised them the next time I officiated there to conclude the service by singing "Yankee-Doodle-Doodle-Do." I wrote for the "Congregational Herald" of Chicago—a paper which I believe is no longer in existence—defining the issue before the country: "We have wisdom to make our own laws; have we the *power* to enforce them, or is our country, which has been strong to defend itself against foreign aggression, to drop to pieces at last of its own weakness?" The Congregational Association held its annual meeting in Indianapolis about four weeks after the attack on Fort Sumter. It adopted resolutions declaring it to be the Christian duty of all men to rally to the support of the country. On my motion these resolutions were amended by adding one declaring that the object of the war against the Union was "the perpetuation and extension of a system of slavery, which is as antagonistic to the plainest principles of humanity and the simplest principles of the Gospel as it is at last confessed to be to those principles of liberty which underlie our Nation, and to which, under God, we are indebted for all its prosperity."

In reading this chapter the reader must remember that I was only in my twenty-fifth year; that this was my first parish; that I was a comparative stranger in a strange land; that I had to acquaint myself with the spiritual and intellectual temper of a people quite different from those of New England, with whom I was familiar; that the conditions both in the community and in the church were new and strange; that I was far from my old friends and advisers, and had to feel my way aided by the advice of only two counselors, Mr. Ryce, who understood Terre Haute but did not understand me; and my wife, who understood me but understood the people of Terre Haute better than I, only as a woman's intuitions are quicker and more trustworthy than a man's. Add to this that I had not learned that the minister needs one

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rest day in the week as truly as the layman; I worked habitually every day. It is not, then, altogether strange that my wife's apprehensions were realized; and when the summer came on, my church perceived that I needed a respite and gave me a vacation, which I spent in the East. My father offered a railway ticket to bring my wife and the two children to Farmington, Maine, and the hospitality of the old homestead there for the summer. We did not accept the offer, partly because the long journey with two children was a serious undertaking for the mother; partly because I was engaged to preach in New York and depended on the income of the preaching for my own expenses, so that if she had come we should have been but little together; but chiefly, I suspect, because she rightly felt that a journey with the children would have added to my cares, from which she wished to relieve me. An incident insignificant in itself, but which might have been very significant, proved my need of the vacation.

On the Friday before I started for the East I saw a mouse in my study, went out into the yard, picked up a cat which belonged to us but was imperfectly domesticated, and attempted to bring her in to introduce her to the mouse. She objected, struggled to get free, scratched, and finally put her tooth into my finger. Then I let her go. My wife wanted me to see a doctor. I laughed at her, but so far yielded to her persuasions as to wash out the little wound, which scarcely bled at all, and then dismissed the matter from my mind. But by Saturday the finger had swollen and the hand was painful. I then went to the doctor. The germ theory of disease was unknown. Of infection I had never heard. The doctor explained the condition of my hand by saying that the bite of an angry animal was poisonous, "from the bite of a cat to the bite of a woman," and justified his expression by telling me that when he was a police surgeon in Baltimore a woman arrested on the street by a policeman had bitten the policeman on the shoulder, and he died from the poison. On Sunday I preached with my hand in a poultice and my arm in a sling. Monday I traveled on with friends, spent a day in considerable discomfort at Niagara Falls, and, on arriving in New York, went straight to the doctor there. I was to preach the following Sunday in the Broadway Tabernacle, and wished to be in good condition for the service. I judge that he thought I took the matter too lightly and needed a scare. He told me he thought he could save my life, and hoped he could save my arm, up which by that time the pains were shooting to the shoulder, but he doubted whether he could save my finger. Preaching on Sunday was out of the question. Whether I could preach at all that summer was doubtful. I was to go home to my brother's and go to bed. He did save my finger, but I doubt whether I have ever had, except for the scarlet fever in my childhood, an illness more serious than that caused by this little incident. The scales showed that I lost ten pounds in three weeks—and I have never had any flesh to spare. But I was kept out of the pulpit only one Sunday. Fortunately, I was able to do some literary law work for my brother Austin, which made up for the deficiency in my finances caused by not preaching the first Sunday. The experience showed that I was somewhat run down, but also that I had a constitution which possessed a considerable resisting power.

The only other incident in this vacation of any interest to the general reader was a perplexity which illustrates an aphorism of my brother Austin's which I have found comforting in some of life's trying experiences: "Perplexity is generally a choice of blessings." My Uncle John had put my name before a vacant Congregational parish in Meriden, Connecticut. At their invitation I preached for them, and received a call to settle there. There was much to attract me in this call. The church was a large one, numbering about three hundred; the Sunday-school was large and flourishing; there was no debt; there was a probable salary of twelve hundred dollars and a parsonage, "a very pleasant two-story house, apparently roomy and commodious." If I had accepted the call, we should have been brought back to our old friends, and to our immediate and even remote family relations. This last would have counted for much, for the Abbotts have always been a united family, and the reader will remember that my wife was an Abbott on her mother's side. We should have been in an intellectual and social atmosphere congenial to us, and in a climate certainly better for my wife's health. The summers of Terre Haute were long and hot. The nights seemed hotter than the days, for what breeze there was went down with the sun. Often my wife would put her pillow on the window-

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sill and sleep with her head as far out as was safe, in order to get a breath of air. Sleeping porches were unknown. I was not settled in Terre Haute, but employed only for the year. I should have been permanently settled in Meriden. The church was apparently more spiritually active than the church in Terre Haute, was a better working force, and had better prayer-meetings. The slavery question was not so perplexing. I wrote to my wife that in New England all loyal supporters of the Government were anti-slavery, and this was far from true in Indiana.

But all these were questions of secondary importance. My wife, in a letter to me, put the whole question in a sentence: "It seems to me that both places are attractive, and the question is, Where can we do the most good?" It seemed to us both that we could do the most good by remaining where we were and by trying to make the Terre Haute church more spiritually active, to improve the attendance at and interest in the prayer-meeting, and to do what little I could to make the loyal supporters of the Government also lovers of liberty for the slave as well as for themselves. I therefore declined the call, with my wife's hearty approval. In reaching this decision I was helped by an aphorism of my grandfather's which I have before quoted: "When you do not know what to do, do nothing." To use the lawyer's phrase, the presumption is always against a change, the burden of proof is always on the advocate of a change. This may seem strange doctrine for one who has always been a progressive, but it states the principle on which I have always acted.

While this question was under consideration the church brought no pressure to bear on either of us to remain, although occasional expressions made it clear what they generally felt. After the decision was made we were overwhelmed with expressions of appreciation and gratitude. The culmination of these expressions was reached a little after Christmas.

The residential section of Terre Haute—for in Terre Haute, as elsewhere in America, the homes of the wealthy were called residences, the homes of the poorer were called houses—consisted of two parallel avenues running from the center of the city in a southerly direction, and connected by cross streets. At one end of these avenues, on one of the cross streets, was our home, a plain but comfortable brick house, into which we had now moved. At the other extremity, a mile away, was one of the finest places in Terre Haute, known as Strawberry Hill. One afternoon my wife and I were invited to take tea at Strawberry Hill; accepted the invitation; rode down, but expected to walk back. Tea was hardly over before the young man of the household brought word that an omnibus was outside waiting to take us home. It had come, he said, by his order, but he was surprised that it had come so soon. We proposed that he should dismiss it and leave us to go home on foot, as we had expected to do. This proposition our hosts would not entertain, and we got into the omnibus and drove off, rather surprised that our friends were so ready to speed the parting guests. The omnibus had hardly got out into one of the parallel avenues before it stopped and the driver got down, apparently to attend to some defect in the harness. He presently repeated the operation. To my question, "What is the matter?" he replied, "It is all right now," and drove on; but when he reached the first cross street, he turned down into the parallel avenue, and when he came to the next cross street he turned back again, and so went zigzagging back and forth to our house. When we reached it, the house was dark. My wife proposed to go around to the kitchen and arouse the maid. I said, "Wait; perhaps I can arouse her with the bell." I began pulling the bell handle back and forth. Instantly the front door was flung open, our host and hostess of the evening stood in the open door to admit us to our home, the before darkened house was ablaze with light and was filled, hall, stairs, parlors, with members of the congregation. One of our friends afterwards said that my wife acted like a crazy woman and I like an idiot. When at the supper table, for in hospitable Terre Haute there was always a supper on such occasions, I tried to make a speech, I broke down completely and ended my address with the conjunction "and."

When, the following day, I attempted to express my thanks in a note to the daily paper, I found myself almost as much at a loss as I had been in my impromptu address of thanks the night before. I finally hit upon the plan of writing a fanciful description of an invasion of my home by a body of burglars who had gained access to the house during the afternoon, had brought with them "a great quantity of plunder, evidently taken from other houses, not only bread, cake, jellies, ham, and other like articles, under the weight of which my substantial dining-table bent

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(literally bent, so that it had to be supported in the center by a dry-goods box), but also a magnificent silver water-pitcher and coffee urn." They also left behind them, I said, $225, and a great variety of other articles of every description. The local readers, knowing the facts, understood the letter, but when a prosaic reporter in the East made a paragraph out of it, treating the incident quite seriously, I received from Eastern friends some letters of condolence, and, to correct misapprehension, wrote for the New York "Independent" a description of my ministerial experience in this mid-Western parish, where my salary was promptly paid, where I was treated justly and even generously by the tradesmen, where I preached temperance in a community cursed by drink and liberty in a community pervaded by pro-slavery prejudices and "nobody got up and went out of the church," where my people vied with each other in hospitality, and where I was writing this letter surrounded by Christmas fruits—"books for my library, silver both elegant and beautiful for my table, toys for my child, food for my larder."

# COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A WEEKLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

## AUGUST BANK CLEARINGS—THEIR ENCOURAGING SIGNIFICANCE

THE **Business Barometer of Bank Clearings** is not indicative of any widespread trade depression in the United States. Special attention should now be paid to this gauge of American business activity. Because the figures are not generally published in detail, and, when published, are rarely understood, the returns for the month of August as compiled by the "Commercial and Financial Chronicle" are given in full on the following page. They include the clearings at one hundred and thirty-seven American cities, and enable one at a glance to measure the relative business activity of each important locality or section.

There is no other country in the world that is supplied with such a sensitive and accurate record of the volume of trade as these clearing-house returns afford. Paris, for instance, has no clearing-house, and even in the countries where the "clearing-house principle" is applied checks are heavily taxed and much less generally used than in the United States. In America, everything bought at wholesale, and probably seventy-five per cent of the things bought at retail, are paid for by check.

Unless the buyer and seller use the same bank the checks so drawn pass through some clearing-house, and the aggregate of the checks thus cleared is called "bank clearings." This is elementary, but it is well just now to repeat it, in order to emphasize the denial of business depression, which the bank clearings bespeak, and make plain the basis for optimism that they afford.

Those who have the patience to examine the figures closely will probably be surprised to learn that outside of New York the "total turnover" of business for the month of August as indicated by the checks drawn is only *four and eight-tenths per cent below last year.* The decrease in New York is, it is true, thirty-two per cent; but this is in a large measure due to the closing of the Stock and Cotton Exchanges and the embargo thereby put upon speculative and financial operations which involve large transfers of money but are not wealth-creating in the same sense as are industry, agriculture, and distributive trade in merchandise.

Examining the figures even more closely, we are enabled to submit the following comparison:

| Clearings at | 1914. | 1913. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York..... | $4,581,200,595 | $6,762,194,504 | — 32.3 |
| Boston..... | 505,557,676 | 560,581,228 | — 9.8 |
| Chicago..... | 1,163,781,093 | 1,245,128,185 | — 6.6 |
| All Southern cities. | 720,099,483 | 762,986,526 | — 5.6 |
| Total of above... | $6,970,638,847 | $9,330,890,443 | — 26.4 |
| All other cities..... | 2,971,608,319 | 3,060,543,029 | — 2.9 |
| Total..... ..... | $9,942,247,166 | $12,391,433,472 | — 19.8 |

This shows that, if we eliminate the three great cities that are most affected by the closing of the Stock Exchange, and the Southern States, where the stagnation of the cotton market is a restrictive influence, we

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# BANK CLEARINGS OF 137 CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES FOR AUGUST, 1914

| Clearings at— | August. 1914. | August. 1913. | Inc. or Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | % |
| New York | 4,581,200,595 | 6,762,194,504 | −32.3 |
| Philadelphia | 577,659,739 | 633,046,362 | −8.7 |
| Pittsburgh | 210,774,938 | 218,335,765 | −3.5 |
| Baltimore | 150,433,765 | 144,939,638 | +3.8 |
| Buffalo | 47,747,790 | 48,414,606 | −1.4 |
| Albany | 23,918,125 | 26,741,673 | −10.6 |
| Washington | 28,375,456 | 29,437,097 | −3.6 |
| Rochester | 17,789,074 | 18,555,900 | −4.1 |
| Scranton | 13,145,795 | 12,915,773 | +1.8 |
| Syracuse | 11,874,202 | 13,205,706 | −10.1 |
| Reading | 7,179,282 | 7,116,303 | +1.2 |
| Wilmington | 6,586,548 | 7,697,308 | −14.4 |
| Wilkes-Barre | 6,895,235 | 6,019,080 | +14.6 |
| Wheeling | 9,402,089 | 8,833,058 | +6.4 |
| Harrisburg | 6,505,072 | 6,733,738 | −3.4 |
| Trenton | 6,710,002 | 7,309,642 | −8.2 |
| York | 3,439,290 | 3,480,336 | −1.2 |
| Erie | 4,492,310 | 4,770,244 | −5.8 |
| Chester | 2,575,832 | 2,989,927 | −13.9 |
| Greensburg | 2,894,112 | 3,221,956 | −10.1 |
| Binghamton | 2,650,800 | 2,878,400 | −7.9 |
| Altoona | 2,349,962 | 2,404,335 | −2.3 |
| Franklin | 1,161,718 | 1,350,459 | −14.0 |
| Frederick | 1,308,319 | 1,096,530 | +19.3 |
| Beaver County, Pa | 2,193,991 | 2,395,944 | −8.4 |
| Lancaster | 6,301,641 | 5,796,168 | +8.7 |
| Norristown | 1,823,506 | 1,910,838 | −4.6 |
| Montclair | 1,457,455 | 1,660,494 | −12.2 |
| Oranges | | Not included | in total |
| Total Middle | 5,738,846,643 | 7,985,451,784 | −28.1 |
| Boston | 505,557,676 | 560,581,228 | −9.8 |
| Providence | 27,253,300 | 29,428,800 | −7.4 |
| Hartford | 20,013,851 | 18,991,467 | +5.5 |
| New Haven | 14,012,944 | 12,445,134 | +12.6 |
| Portland | 8,045,792 | 8,708,808 | −7.6 |
| Springfield | 10,001,896 | 9,994,504 | +0.07 |
| Worcester | 9,865,364 | 10,430,982 | −5.4 |
| Fall River | 4,380,712 | 3,809,439 | +15.0 |
| New Bedford | 3,951,046 | 4,223,181 | −6.4 |
| Lowell | 3,216,663 | 1,776,436 | +18.1 |
| Holyoke | 2,891,471 | 2,557,735 | +13.1 |
| Bangor | 1,773,425 | 1,874,178 | −5.4 |
| Waterbury | 3,616,800 | 3,802,300 | −4.9 |
| Total New England | 614,580,940 | 668,624,192 | −8.1 |
| Chicago | 1,163,781,093 | 1,245,128,185 | −6.6 |
| Cincinnati | 100,720,350 | 101,076,300 | −0.3 |
| Cleveland | 94,315,872 | 100,098,451 | −5.8 |
| Detroit | 126,103,548 | 125,629,713 | +0.4 |
| Milwaukee | 64,808,466 | 60,235,938 | +7.6 |
| Indianapolis | 35,874,828 | 35,197,108 | +1.9 |
| Columbus | 25,989,000 | 27,315,000 | −4.9 |
| Toledo | 24,018,715 | 24,045,008 | −0.1 |
| Peoria | 14,406,628 | 14,683,906 | −1.9 |
| Grand Rapids | 14,607,363 | 14,532,019 | +0.5 |
| Dayton | 9,358,588 | 11,267,082 | −16.9 |
| Evansville | 4,971,089 | 4,934,934 | +0.8 |
| Kalamazoo | 2,366,647 | 2,798,529 | −15.4 |
| Springfield, Ill | 4,337,071 | 4,203,038 | +3.2 |
| Fort Wayne | 5,512,761 | 4,901,244 | +12.4 |
| Youngstown | 5,816,313 | 6,553,109 | −11.2 |
| Akron | 6,600,000 | 8,197,000 | −19.5 |
| Canton | 6,058,058 | 5,436,470 | +11.4 |
| Lexington | 2,713,595 | 2,440,956 | +11.2 |
| Rockford | 3,621,981 | 3,675,478 | −1.5 |
| Quincy | 3,435,050 | 3,084,042 | +11.4 |
| South Bend | 2,499,278 | 2,473,937 | +1.1 |
| Bloomington | 3,303,212 | 2,667,031 | +23.9 |
| Decatur | 2,213,865 | 2,367,789 | −6.5 |
| Springfield, O | 3,288,110 | 3,188,171 | +3.1 |
| Mansfield | 2,132,327 | 2,005,546 | +6.3 |
| Danville | 2,025,422 | 1,989,236 | +1.8 |
| Jackson | 2,076,460 | 2,182,583 | −4.4 |
| Lima | 2,038,164 | 2,450,443 | −16.8 |
| Jacksonville, Ill | 1,119,517 | 1,419,648 | −21.1 |
| Lansing | 2,137,129 | 1,941,304 | +10.1 |
| Ann Arbor | 958,642 | 908,260 | +5.6 |
| Adrian | 243,037 | 255,645 | −4.1 |
| Owensboro | 1,608,302 | 1,632,959 | −1.5 |
| Flint | 2,126,670 | 1,714,848 | +24.0 |
| Lorain | 557,047 | 647,156 | −13.9 |
| Gary | 1,245,679 | 1,755,222 | −29.1 |
| New Albany | 581,045 | 654,722 | −11.1 |
| Paducah | 2,704,127 | 3,830,722 | −29.4 |
| Total Middle West | 1,752,275,049 | 1,839,518,731 | −4.7 |

| Clearings at— | August. 1914. | August. 1913. | Inc. or Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | $ | $ | % |
| Kansas City | 246,195,112 | 237,198,763 | +3.8 |
| Minneapolis | 97,366,977 | 89,453,553 | +8.8 |
| Omaha | 67,218,702 | 72,439,248 | −7.2 |
| St. Paul | 39,991,067 | 40,738,847 | −1.8 |
| Denver | 35,225,878 | 35,391,197 | −0.5 |
| St. Joseph | 27,000,000 | 32,250,704 | −16.3 |
| Des Moines | 20,184,560 | 17,938,566 | +12.5 |
| Sioux City | 12,502,796 | 12,726,158 | −1.8 |
| Wichita | 16,345,906 | 15,687,669 | +4.2 |
| Duluth | 16,500,000 | 16,256,896 | +1.5 |
| Topeka | 6,761,619 | 7,341,592 | −7.9 |
| Lincoln | 8,337,555 | 8,784,484 | −5.1 |
| Davenport | 6,143,419 | 6,683,937 | −8.1 |
| Cedar Rapids | 6,734,044 | 6,120,340 | +10.0 |
| Colorado Springs | 2,848,970 | 3,245,468 | −12.2 |
| Fargo | 1,400,064 | 1,680,945 | +161.8 |
| Sioux Falls | 3,811,813 | 2,832,416 | +34.6 |
| Pueblo | 2,535,713 | 2,591,650 | −2.2 |
| Fremont | 1,736,629 | 1,849,876 | −6.1 |
| Waterloo | 4,939,969 | 6,659,457 | −25.8 |
| Helena | 5,212,366 | 4,466,898 | +16.7 |
| Aberdeen | 2,385,000 | 1,427,640 | +67.1 |
| Hastings | 1,067,582 | 887,924 | +20.3 |
| Billings | 1,659,595 | 1,652,712 | +0.4 |
| Joplin | 2,700,000 | 3,040,528 | −11.2 |
| Grand Forks | 1,380,400 | 1,509,200 | −8.5 |
| Lawrence | 845,544 | 799,895 | +5.8 |
| Iowa City | 809,123 | 1,000,000 | −19.1 |
| Total other West'n | 642,840,403 | 632,656,563 | +1.6 |
| San Francisco | 193,131,970 | 207,500,588 | −6.9 |
| Los Angeles | 87,892,656 | 86,772,660 | +1.3 |
| Seattle | 54,101,113 | 53,756,974 | +4.9 |
| Portland | 40,573,584 | 45,503,369 | −10.8 |
| Salt Lake City | 23,339,784 | 24,571,567 | −5.0 |
| Spokane | 13,929,748 | 16,583,344 | −16.0 |
| Tacoma | 8,871,079 | 10,996,184 | −19.3 |
| Oakland | 13,699,167 | 14,622,544 | −6.3 |
| Sacramento | 8,682,836 | 9,774,876 | −11.2 |
| San Diego | 8,136,246 | 9,490,068 | −14.3 |
| Stockton | 3,823,088 | 3,468,405 | +10.2 |
| San José | 3,039,876 | 3,218,040 | −5.6 |
| Fresno | 4,076,790 | 3,741,996 | +8.9 |
| Pasadena | 3,170,930 | 3,263,689 | −2.8 |
| North Yakima | 1,451,000 | 1,314,509 | +10.4 |
| Boise | 2,955,720 | 2,947,383 | +0.3 |
| Reno | 1,097,513 | 1,118,433 | −1.9 |
| Ogden | 3,649,002 | 2,530,355 | +44.2 |
| Santa Rosa | 982,546 | 1,020,691 | −3.7 |
| Long Beach | 2,366,052 | Not included | in total |
| Total Pacific | 473,604,648 | 502,195,675 | −5.7 |
| St. Louis | 283,321,416 | 303,779,145 | −6.7 |
| New Orleans | 65,693,580 | 67,082,437 | −2.1 |
| Louisville | 48,474,358 | 53,100,596 | −8.7 |
| Houston | 28,248,053 | 36,239,707 | −22.1 |
| Galveston | 10,535,895 | *17,000,000 | −38.0 |
| Richmond | 29,925,691 | 29,065,146 | +3.0 |
| Atlanta | 43,311,517 | 41,688,066 | +3.9 |
| Memphis | 21,471,101 | 22,099,534 | −2.8 |
| Nashville | 23,003,708 | 23,853,746 | −3.6 |
| Fort Worth | 23,467,217 | 25,943,918 | −9.5 |
| Savannah | 12,444,633 | 15,618,238 | −20.3 |
| Norfolk | 14,152,105 | 14,249,827 | −0.7 |
| Birmingham | 10,437,760 | 11,624,890 | −10.2 |
| Knoxville | 7,372,009 | 6,950,738 | +6.1 |
| Chattanooga | 9,736,778 | 9,067,683 | +7.4 |
| Jacksonville | 11,059,797 | 11,975,485 | −7.6 |
| Mobile | 4,656,585 | 5,650,520 | −17.6 |
| Augusta | 4,610,025 | 5,385,309 | −14.4 |
| Little Rock | 7,778,638 | 7,648,357 | +1.7 |
| Charleston | 5,374,460 | 4,743,130 | +13.3 |
| Oklahoma | 8,410,386 | 6,742,375 | +24.7 |
| Macon | 11,297,774 | 8,763,658 | +28.9 |
| Beaumont | 2,839,794 | 2,468,757 | +15.0 |
| Wilmington, N. C | 1,800,000 | 2,105,318 | −14.5 |
| Columbus, Ga | 1,434,296 | 1,396,060 | +2.7 |
| Austin | 5,358,866 | 8,299,974 | −35.3 |
| Vicksburg | 834,790 | 872,787 | −4.4 |
| Columbus | 2,884,457 | 3,144,891 | −8.3 |
| Jackson | 1,489,620 | 1,479,211 | +0.7 |
| Meridian | 1,163,673 | 1,409,502 | −17.5 |
| Tulsa | 6,184,400 | 4,705,164 | +31.4 |
| Muskogee | 3,352,729 | 3,087,351 | +8.6 |
| El Paso | 7,973,372 | 5,745,006 | +38.8 |
| Total Southern | 720,099,483 | 762,986,526 | −5.6 |
| Total all | 9,942,247,166 | 12,391,433,472 | −19.8 |
| Outside New York | 5,361,046,571 | 5,629,238,968 | −4.8 |

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find that elsewhere in this great country the volume of business is only two and nine-tenths per cent below last year.

Surely these figures indicate that things are sound at the core, and that those who are shouting so loudly of the widespread depression live chiefly in the greater cities and draw their inspiration mainly from the metropolitan newspapers, which naturally reflect the subnormal feeling that results from an abatement of the speculative activities in which so many of those who live in these cities are engaged.

As has been previously pointed out, the reports of the stock market, being so widely published and so well advertised, wield an influence upon business sentiment that is altogether disproportionate to their real importance; and it is in an endeavor to dissipate the unwarrantable pessimism that now exists in many quarters that space is given to a mass of figures that would usually be uninteresting.

At present, however, they should inspire pride and confidence in the breast of every citizen of the United States. The world has been at war for over six weeks. The result in so far as this country is concerned has been to increase the value of an unexampled grain crop by about $500,000,000, which will more than offset the probable depreciation in the cotton crop. No American lives have been sacrificed and no American property has been destroyed, but thousands of our countrymen have been forced to return from Europe and go to work at home instead of spending a very large sum of American-made money abroad.

The monthly figures of iron production show an increase for August. The unfilled-order statement of the United States Steel Corporation reveals an increase in the tonnage of unfilled orders on the books of that company. The number of idle freight cars shows a decrease for the two weeks ending September 1. These data are perhaps not as favorable as they would have been in the absence of war, but at least they show a tendency toward expansion rather than contraction and do not justify pessimistic forebodings.

It is true that the market for foreign exchange has been somewhat disturbed and that the supply of investment capital will be for some time absorbed in taking care of the good securities which we shall shortly have to rebuy from the foreign holders who will be impoverished by the war; but the real value of these securities will not be affected by the fact that we reacquire them cheaply, and in the end we shall profit immensely by the operation.

America cannot, of course, hope to escape some share of the economic loss which will result from the terrible destruction of life and property now in progress, but it begins to look as if that share would be a very small one, and it is difficult to see why the purchasing power of the United States as a whole should be reduced, except in so far as it will be responsive to the healthful and world-wide tendency toward *post-bellum* economy that will be made fashionable by the necessities of European poverty.

If we shall learn to practice this economy, it will be worth all that it seems likely to cost us, deplorable as is the event from which the lesson will be drawn.

Meantime, directly as a result of the war, we have an immensely increased prestige as a Nation, a world-wide appreciation of the advantages of democracy, greater contentment at home, a National solidarity that is intensified, and a closer sympathy between Government and business that means much for our economic progress in the future. These are our domestic blessings.

In so far as our international relationships are concerned, they, too, have already become sympathetically closer with every nation except Germany and Austria, and once the bitterness of conflict has subsided it is unlikely that any resentment toward us will be cherished by the peoples whose present misfortunes we deplore as the unfortunate consequence of a militarism and autocracy to which in theory we have always been opposed.

The commercial solidification of North and South America has been greatly hastened by the war. Canada has become a closer neighbor and a safe-deposit vault for American gold. The Kaiser has appealed to the President of the United States as the world's most notable representative of humanitarianism, and the feeling between the people of England and America is one of consanguine sympathy, accidentally intensified rather than diminished by the coincidence that it is just a hundred years ago that a British army occupied Washington. It was the triumph of American soldiers over those who were our foes, but are now our friends, that inspired Francis Scott Key to immortalize in song the Star-Spangled Banner,

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which, with the Cross of St. George, is now recognized the world over as emblematic of the liberty, fraternity, and chivalrous self-restraint that we are proud to call Anglo-American.

I wish that I might know whether these figures of bank clearings are as interesting and inspiring to those who read this article as they are to him who writes it. As a rule statistics are wearisome and unappealing, and I have resorted to them in the existing situation only because it has seemed to me that if they are studied with a vision which perceives their true significance they will be reassuring as to the present and encouraging as to the future.

*We regret to announce that Mr. Price's articles, which our correspondence shows have proved of distinct value and interest to readers, will hereafter appear once a month instead of once a week. This change is made because of the pressure upon our pages of articles directly or indirectly connected with the war.*—THE EDITORS.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## THE NEWER THINKING[1]

There is no "new theology." There is what has been well called "the newer thinking." The new thinking differs from the old theology in two fundamental respects. The old theology assumed that it was possible to construct a comprehensive system of philosophy into which all the various and seemingly contradictory facts of life could be fitted—a system which would thus explain the great mysteries. The newer thinking has no such ambition. It is possessed by the spirit of Paul, who said, "We know in fragments, and we prophesy in fragments." The newer thinking does not attempt to expound the truth. It only attempts to expound truths. Different members of this school present their respective views without troubling themselves overmuch on the question how their views are to be related to the views of other members of the same school.

The newer thinking differs from the old theology also in its method of inquiry. It does not start out with saying, "We must assume that there is one living and true God, immutable, eternal, incomprehensible," etc. It looks into life and inquires what has life to teach us respecting the Creator and the Ruler of the universe. It differs from the deist, John Stuart Mill, for example, by including in its survey of the phenomena of life the whole realm of human experience. It includes in that survey such spiritual phenomena as remorse, repentance, forgiveness, hope, love. It includes not merely a recognition of the unity of physical phenomena recognized by the very word universe, but a certain moral unity in the seeming chaos of the world of men in action. It seeks to find an explanation for the moral progress of humanity, for the existence of the world-wide phenomena of religion, for the fact that men in all ages of the world have more or less clearly seen an ideal which inspired them and for which they had reverence, and especially for such a fact in human biography as Jesus Christ, and such a fact in human history as Christianity.

When independent thinkers thus start out upon an investigation of the human experiences, seeking with an open mind to ascertain what the world of experience has to teach them, and quite willing to learn one truth at a time, it is to be expected that their conclusions will often differ and sometimes clash. Out of this difference, and even out of this clashing, a more vital faith issues than out of any perfected system based on some previous assumption of something which "we must suppose."

Professor Eucken has shown very clearly that truth is not all to be ascertained by logical processes; that there are truths, and these most vital and fundamental, which can be ascertained only by experiencing them. Theology that is vital is an outgrowth

[1] Getting Together. Essays by Friends in Council on the Regulative Ideas of Religious Thought. Edited by James Morris Whiton. Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $1.

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of these experiences. It is an attempt to translate spiritual life into an intellectual philosophy. It assumes nothing but the reality of these spiritual experiences. It refuses to ignore any of them merely because they are inexplicable. It refuses to accept any theological theories which contradict human experience. It refuses, for example, to accept the statement that we in this twentieth century sinned in Adam many centuries ago, because no man ever experienced remorse or repentance for that hypothetical sin. It refuses to accept the notion that God will not forgive sin without exacting a penalty for it from some one, because that is inconsistent with the universal experience of mankind, among whom forgiveness is constantly exercised without exacting any penalty. It constructs its theory of inspiration out of the actual experiences of men who feel the inspirations to a higher life, and it inclines to explain the "thus saith the Lord" of the ancient prophets by the "thus saith the Lord" in the experience of the modern Christian.

These principles are illustrated in the volume entitled "Getting Together." It comprises contributions by representatives of the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Unitarian, Universalist, and Jewish denominations. These essays are independent. They have been written apparently without conference. Their unity, for the volume possesses a real unity, is that of the spirit. And just because they are independent and represent widely different denominations, they will afford to the interested reader a good illustration both of the spirit and methods of the newer thinking. We wish, however, that the writers had kept more clearly in mind the lay reader, and had presented their views of religious philosophy somewhat less in the terms of the theological thinker and more in the terms of spiritual experience.

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**City of Numbered Days (The).** By Francis Lynde. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.35.

A reclamation story, well invented and well told. The Government engineer is building a great dam to impound waters which when released will destroy the "city of numbered days" unless fraud and bribery can bring about the abandoning of the project. His moral problem is peculiarly trying because he is tempted through love as well as through money. He does not escape unscathed, but what wrong he does he remedies. The tale is spirited and shows literary quality as well as story-telling skill.

**Personality Plus.** By Edna Ferber. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.

"Personality Plus," it seems, is the possession in a salesman of such excessive charm that his prospective customers enjoy his society so much that they can't do business with him. At first this hindered the activities of Jock McChesney, the wide-awake, somewhat bumptious son of Emma McChesney, once the best saleswoman on the road, a good and clever lady much liked by readers of Miss Ferber's former stories. Soon Jock finds himself and makes his hit. The story is intensely modern, humorous, and shrewdly observant of business and of men and women.

**Knight on Wheels (A).** By Ian Hay. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.35.

Ian Hay is always a cheerful story-teller. His "knight" begins life as secretary to a sort of up-to-date Robin Hood, a professional begging-letter writer, who extracts money from wealthy sentimentalists on false pretenses and bestows it in really worth-while charity. Later our hero has motor adventures which more or less justify the title. The book is amusing and its action moves vivaciously.

**Misadventures of Joseph (The).** By J. J. Bell. The F. H. Revell Company, New York. $1.

Joseph Redborn is, in his way, a better creation than "Wee Macgreegor," who made Mr. Bell famous. Joseph is a village painter, dry, canny, given to quaint philosophy, but also kindly and generous even to rivals and enemies. The tale of his doings and sayings is full of fun with a real touch of tenderness and sympathy.

**Saturday's Child.** By Kathleen Norris. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Mrs. Norris is not afraid of normal human life; she has not lost faith in the power of wholesome experiences to supply all the material essential for dramatic interest; she has more than once proved her case, and has invested very simple situations with deep and beautiful meaning. It is not necessary to be a bad woman in order to be a significant and charming woman, nor is immorality the only road to the dramatic in life. It isn't even necessary to make a "career" in order to fulfill the possibilities of life; it is quite possible to be respectable and entertaining, to keep out of the newspapers and make life impressively and strikingly successful.

Mrs. Norris deals with normal people in normal conditions; there is nothing esoteric about her work; its interest is the interest of life clearly seen and faithfully reported. This story of a working-girl in San Francisco is realistic in detail and romantic in temper. The way of things in a boarding-house is made

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so plain that the hardness of conditions and the strain of poverty "get on the nerves" before the story emerges into a freer environment. The girl's love affairs, her great temptation, her narrow escape, and the simple human happiness which comes to her in the end are described frankly and fully, sometimes too fully; the novel would gain by some condensation. No one can read one of Mrs. Norris's stories without thinking better of life.

**Secrets of the German War Office (The).** By Dr. Armgaard Karl Graves. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $1.50.

The puzzle is how seriously to take these "revelations" of a man who claims to have been employed (under the assumed name he now signs) for many years in the German secret service. It is a fact that a man of that name was arrested, tried, and convicted as a German spy in Great Britain three years ago; an account of the proceedings appeared in English papers of the time. "Dr. Graves" claims that his arrest was secretly plotted by the German Government, who felt that he knew too much. He was released, he says, after a few weeks, and questions asked about the matter in Parliament were refused an answer. "Dr. Graves" declares that, convinced of Germany's perfidy, he took service as a British secret agent, but soon after having reached New York he resigned.

The stories he tells are extraordinary. To take one instance, he tells of a secret meeting in the Black Forest, under his personal management, of great statesmen of England (Winston Churchill and Lord Haldane), Germany, and Austria (their representatives are named also, and are of high rank and importance), in which an informal coalition is formed against Russia. Not a happy hit, this, as things have turned out, but a vivid piece of narrative. Even the Kaiser is introduced in person more than once, and a thrilling story is told of how he and Dr. Graves prevented the Agadir incident from causing war. One almost hopes that the narratives *are* fiction, because they are so good as fiction. Mr. E. P. Oppenheim could not have done better! In fact, one suspects them of being a fascinating and exciting combination of fact and fiction.

**War.** By W. Douglas Newton. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.20.

This is not a novel, but it has all the interest of fiction; it is not a record of fact, but it reads so like current history that many of its chapters seem like reprints from the newspapers. The colossal struggle in Europe gives it not only a timely but a tragical interest. It describes the unfolding of an invasion described as an eyewitness saw it until he is shot for having tried to save the woman he loves from the supreme outrage that can be committed upon a woman.

The story is told in detail and with graphic skill. It gains in effectiveness by reason of its dispassionate tone; no attempt at moralization is made, nor is any characterization of war necessary; its cold, merciless cruelty, its essential and ruthless brutality, its inevitable savagery, are brought home by the scientific intelligence with which the campaign is conducted, and the scientific temper of the commanders who direct it. In its best estate war is savagery used by trained men. The story is reeking with blood, as the newspapers would be if they were permitted to report the details of the battles recently fought on Belgian and French soil. It is realistic or it would be worthless, and the repulsion with which some of its chapters will be read comes not from the book but from the events which it describes. Such books as this are not pleasant reading, but life over a great section of Europe is now like this story; it is so horrible that it is incredible, but there is no escape from the facts.

**News, Ads, and Sales: The Use of English for Commercial Purposes.** By John B. Opdycke. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

It is an experiment which seems well worth trying that Mr. Opdycke formulates in this book. His experiment is the use of the American newspaper as the subject of a course of study for high school and college freshman pupils. His book is offered as the text-book of such a course. Mr. Opdycke is Chairman of the English Department of the Julia Richman High School of New York City.

Mr. Opdycke discusses and illustrates the newspaper in all its departments—editorial, business, and mechanical. He gives his idea of newspaper ethics, of how a forceful advertisement should be written and printed, and of what the physical appearance of the high-class newspaper should be. He suggests that the study of the newspaper is a good thing in itself, and that while the student is learning what a newspaper is he will also be learning twentieth-century business English. "A few years ago," says Mr. Opdycke in his Foreword, "it was more or less necessary for a teacher of English to apologize when he mentioned commercial English. He stood in fear of the 'culturists.' Now the live, efficient teacher of English must apologize if he does not mention it, the 'culturists' notwithstanding. He has no quarrel with those who argue for the classics; he believes in the classics too, but this belief does not move him to disbelieve in commercial and industrial English. He recognizes the two as different, not as antagonistic, each with a place peculiarly, even exquisitely, its own. Indeed, he is almost ready to say that they are complementary one to another."

**Open Roads of Thought in the Bible and in Poetry** By Rev. T. H. Wright. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh.

This volume from the Scots manse in Dresden is made up of selections from the poets in lines of thought upon human life and destiny,

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reverberations of the teaching of the Bible from human hearts. These are taken mainly from Dante and modern British poets, and are accompanied with judicious comments, mainly interpretative.

**Ritual and Belief.** By Edwin Sidney Hartland, F.S.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.

These studies in the history of religion are in the line taken by anthropology, the science of man, in its inquiry into the beginnings of religion. This takes us back to the primitive state of mankind, in which a characteristic trait of religion appears in its rudimentary form of a vague but real belief in unseen superhuman powers. These essays by an eminent member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science take up the subject at the mooted points to which it has been carried by such distinguished investigators as Sir Edward Tylor, Andrew Lang, Professor Frazer, and others, French and American—the relations of religion and magic. Which is prior? What is their difference?

The conclusion here drawn is that they spring from a common root "in man's emotional response to his environment, his interpretation in the terms of personality of the objects which encountered his attention, and in their investiture by him with potentiality." Originally interwoven and indistinguishable, they show opposite tendencies as civilization advances. Religion subordinates individual interests to social. Magic is employed for individual and anti-social ends. Hence its increasing reprobation as ethical religion develops. Ritual and belief, whether religious or magical, are elaborated and organized together.

Essays on "The Boldness of the Celts," "The Haunted Widow," "The Philosophy of Mourning Clothes," "The Rite at the Temple of Mylitta," and "The Voice of the Stone of Destiny" exhibit, with comments, a great mass of primitive ritual and belief, on which the foregoing conclusions are based. Strange, absurd, or shocking as they are, their vestiges survive in modern civilization—a case of "the haunted widow" in 1912 at Macon, Georgia, is cited. Magic has not yet been wholly purged out of modern Christianity. "The fact is," says the essayist, "that on these [religious and metaphysical] subjects the majority of the human race, whether savage or civilized, think little. Their minds are seldom excited to the point of reasoning on their beliefs."

**Constructive Basis for Theology (A).** By James Ten Broeke, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.

A solid contribution is this of Professor Ten Broeke to the groundwork on which many thinkers are now engaged. The basis of theology being God as the ultimate Reality beneath all phenomena, it can be really constructive only in so far as it provides adequate ground for the demands of our intellectual, social, and religious life. This truth Dr. Ten Broeke assumes at the outset. His discussion leads up to the conception of God as "a Life objectifying itself in a world-order and a kingdom of selves." He comes to this through an elaborate critical review of the history of speculative thought upon theological doctrines. To this also points Jesus' thought of God as Spirit, Father, and Sovereign of a spiritual kingdom. "In the consciousness of Jesus himself," says Dr. Ten Broeke, "the reality of Christianity is to be found." To this he appeals from systems of the remote and recent past as the norm of present-day theology, and both from theologians who yield too much to scientists, and scientists who claim more than belongs to them. "What a relief it is," he exclaims, "to turn from bewildering soteriologies to the divine Saviourhood which Jesus taught!" The constructive principle of Dr. Ten Broeke's theology is the divine immanence in man and nature. But to say, "Transcendence and immanence are spatial conceptions," seems quite inconsistent with his thought of God as "a self-conscious, self-determining Personality having his life in and through a world-order and a kingdom of selves, a social unity who is the Father of spirits." In the influence of spirit on spirit personality is essentially dynamic and non-spatial. Professor Ten Broeke's philosophy of the constructive basis of theology is in close agreement generally with that of Eucken.

**Demosthenes and the Last Days of Greek Freedom, 384-322 B. C.** (*Heroes of the Nations Series.*) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

The subject of this fresh volume in the series of Heroes of the Nations is the statesman and orator whose claim to be ranked among the heroic men of the past "rests above all on the constancy and sincerity with which he defended the noblest cause known to the Greeks—that of Hellenic liberty." He failed, but came near worsting his antagonist, the war lord Philip of Macedon. His present biographer, an eminent Oxford scholar, attributes his failure chiefly to the "deep-seated jealousy of able men" which characterized Athenian democracy, its inability in the presence of strong foes to accept "an aristocracy of those who have the power to think, to foresee, to plan, and to command." Our own wise men have reminded us that the success of democracy in the conduct of momentous interests depends on its ability and willingness to avail itself of expert counsel.

This volume, based on a critical study of original authorities, is a valuable monograph on the decline and fall of the Athenian state in the fourth century B. C. Its last great pillar is the central figure in the tragic drama. His faults are not spared, his unjust aspersions on Æschines, his rival, are rebutted. Judging him by the standards of his time, his biographer regards his defects as more than redeemed by his dauntless passion for a great cause and his self-absorbing devotion to a noble ideal.

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# THE READER'S VIEW

## AMERICAN SHIPS AND THE WORLD'S COMMERCE

In several recent numbers of The Outlook you have made editorial reference to the upbuilding of the American merchant marine by the purchase of foreign ships. The mercantile fleet could obviously be increased in this way, but there is nothing to be gained by our owning ships if we cannot operate them. The paralysis of our foreign shipping is not due to the cost of ships but to the cost of operation, and that is due largely to our ill-considered navigation laws. It has been legal to purchase foreign ships ever since the passage of the Panama Canal Act, but our capitalists have not availed themselves of the permission, as there can be little profit in operating lines to foreign ports under the restrictions imposed by our own laws. To make matters worse, the passage of the La Follette Bill bids fair to blot out what few lines we possess.

Many experts believe that it is possible for our ship-yards to build merchant vessels of good type as cheaply as foreigners, provided the demand was great enough to admit of the standardization of types. We build battle-ships at about the same cost as foreign nations, because they are always of special type, and the foreigner loses the advantage of standardization, which he applies very largely in mercantile construction. It is obvious that the more ships we build in our ship-yards, the cheaper they will be individually.

The one way to build up our oversea merchant fleet is to face the fact at the very outset that it is to be operated in competition with cheap ships, manned by small crews receiving low wages, and favored in all possible details by the laws of their respective countries. These disadvantages should, in the first place, be met by the removal of all restrictions imposed by law on American ships, and by the adoption of the general policy that our laws should favor, not throttle, our foreign shipping. The question of the wages of the personnel is perhaps the vital one in the whole situation. Americans will not go to sea for the wages paid by foreign mercantile lines, for the simple reason that they can make more money in easier work ashore. They must be paid American wages while competing with men willing to serve for much less. It is ridiculous under such conditions to attempt to improve the American marine by increasing the number of officers and crew over the number carried by foreign vessels of similar type. In order to meet expenses, our ship-owners would be compelled to charge higher rates, and naturally would get no cargoes.

The question is not an ethical or humanitarian one. It cannot be solved by our labor organizations dictating number of personnel or other details of operation. We must compete in the open against lines favored by economic conditions existing in their several nations, as well as by legislation by their governments, and frequently by direct financial aid. It is obvious that American capital will not take up foreign shipping under such adverse conditions.

The fundamental requirement of the resuscitation of our oversea shipping is Governmental assistance to reduce the cost of operation, which, under the handicap of American prices, must always be higher than that of other nations. Legislation may do much, but almost every one who examines the question impartially is led sooner or later to believe that the payment of subsidies in some form is the only way in which the normal disadvantageous conditions can be overcome.

Until we can operate ships in the foreign trade at a reasonable profit it is folly either to build or to buy them.

J. B. MURDOCK,
Rear-Admiral U. S. N., Retired.
Danbury, New Hampshire.

## WAS THE ASSOCIATED PRESS IMPROPERLY ORGANIZED?

In The Outlook of July 4 there was a letter from Mr. Frank B. Noyes, President of the Associated Press, in which Mr. Noyes took exception to my criticism of that organization published in The Outlook of May 30. In particular Mr. Noyes objects to specific criticism on my part which he says "is practically that the Associated Press is improperly organized under its present form."

I have not said, and do not say, that the Associated Press is illegally organized. *Improperly* is the word which Mr. Noyes puts into my mouth, and I am willing to let it stay there if by it we mean that the present form of organization of the Associated Press (which tends to let it grow into a powerful, unregulated monopoly) is a source of danger to the public.

Elsewhere in his letter Mr. Noyes says of the Associated Press: "It is organized under the Membership Corporation Law of New York, and that law specifically refers to press associations."

It is true that the law to-day refers to press associations, but it did not refer to them when the Associated Press was incorporated. The organization's certificate of incorporation was dated May 22, 1900. The amendment to the Membership Corporation Law which specifically refers to press associations went into force April 18, 1901. Any one can ascertain these facts for himself. The amendment in question was contained in Chapter 436, Laws of 1901, being an addition to Section 31, Article II, Chapter



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559, of the Laws of 1895, as amended by Chapter 205 of the Laws of 1897.

Thus, while the question of the legality of the form of organization of the Associated Press is one for lawyers to settle—for the "omnibus" clause of the Membership Corporation Law may have been wide enough to let the Associated Press in—the fact that within a few months of its incorporation an addition was made to the law specifically referring to press associations seems to indicate that the officers of the Associated Press, feeling that the propriety of their incorporation might be questioned, had determined to "cover up" without delay.

New York City. GREGORY MASON.

### INDUSTRY VERSUS ALCOHOL

"Industry Versus Alcohol," by Lewis Edwin Theiss, in The Outlook of August 8, prompts me to write you of a conversation which I overheard in the smoking-room of a Pullman car on the way from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to Washington, D. C., some months ago. The ideas expressed were so at variance with those which one would expect from the type of men who were talking that I listened with the utmost astonishment as well as pleasure, and have elicited surprise and satisfaction from many friends to whom I have repeated the incident. The conversation concerned the practical application of "no license" to the industries the men were engaged in, and their views were in entire accord with those of Mr. Theiss, except that they went further and discussed the solution.

One of our townsmen, of large and varied interests, including coal and railway properties in the South, died, and his funeral was attended by superintendents, managers, and other officials of the companies operating these works. I happened to be going to Washington on the train upon which a number of these men were returning South, and as I took my seat in the smoking-room I noticed three men already there engaged in discussing the many lovable and businesslike qualities of the gentleman whose funeral they had just attended. Thus I was able to identify them as a railway division superintendent, a coal mine superintendent, and a coal company manager. The first was a small, slender, sharp-featured old-young man of positive ideas and loud voice. The second was a tall, lank Scotchman with a delightful brogue, a scraggly gray mustache, weather-beaten skin, and great hard fists. The third was a thick-necked, red-skinned, thin, blue-eyed, and rough-tongued Irish-American with a four-carat diamond on his finger and an eight-carat one in his shirt.

Soon after I entered their conversation turned to "booze," and it developed that their State was soon to vote on the question of "no license." The mine superintendent said he was having a lot of trouble with his men after pay days, many of them failing to go to work for several days. He had a large number of transients, men without families, who worked a short time and then moved on. The railway man said that most of his men drank, indeed the best of them did, and they would all vote against the proposed law. He said he was going to vote against it also. The coal company manager said that the folly of one State going "no license" when surrounding States did not was twofold, for the booze was brought across the border and the men crossed the State line for it and came back drunk. He didn't think there was "anything in" the law, and it wouldn't prevent drinking, it would only change the method of getting booze. The railway man then said that if all the States would prohibit the sale and use of alcoholic drinks he'd be "for such a law," for he was satisfied he would get better results from his men. With this the coal company manager heartily agreed, saying that if his State alone "went dry" all his men would leave the "dry" State for one which remained "wet," but if all were "dry" his men would stay, even many of the "transients," and they would be more industrious, more efficient, and easier to handle. They all agreed that a National law forbidding not only the sale but the manufacture of intoxicating drinks would be the proper solution of the problem; that they would be "for" such a law, and believed they would all live to see it enacted. FARLEY GANNETT.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

### MOTORITE

In your issue of July 25 you make the following statement:

> Motorite is the name of a yet undiscovered fuel for flying-machines. Hudson Maxim, says "Flying," suggested the name several years ago as a suitable one for a compound that might be made from high explosives which would be lighter and give more energy than anything used at present. Inventors have not as yet succeeded in producing such a fuel, but the market for it would probably be enormous, and a fortune awaits the man who finds the lucky combination.

Please allow me to say that there is a little misunderstanding in regard to this matter.

I am the inventor of a material known as motorite, adapted to the use of self-propelled torpedoes. I spent over fifty thousand dollars in developing and perfecting the system, and demonstrated that by means of motorite a torpedo of the Whitehead type may be driven through the water at a much greater speed and range. More than four times the energy may be carried in the torpedo than is possible with compressed air. The expense of the torpedo would also be greatly reduced.

In generating the power for motorite, water would be taken in from the sea and forced into the combustion chamber, into which a steel

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cylinder, containing a bar of motorite seven inches in diameter and five feet long, is secured. The motorite is sealed into the tube and can burn only at the free end within the combustion chamber. The flame blast drives the water through a series of baffle-plates, thereby instantly evaporating it, and the steam and products of combustion combined are utilized to drive a turbine.

The cost of motorite is far too great for any commercial use. But it is cheap enough for use in torpedoes. It would cost not more than half as much for motorite to charge a torpedo as it would cost for smokeless powder to charge a twelve-inch gun.

In order to drive an engine with motorite, it would cost about two dollars per horse-power hour. Therefore it could not be practically used for flying-machines and automobiles.

Again, the quantity which could be carried by a flying-machine would be too small, as the oxygen is combined with the combustible in an explosive material instead of coming from the air, so that the flying-machine would have to carry both its oxygen and its fuel, and the most powerful aeroplane could not carry more than motorite enough to last it fifteen minutes.

HUDSON MAXIM.

### HOME RULE AND MR. GLADSTONE

Your editorial "King George and Home Rule" in The Outlook for August 1, 1914, has the following allusion to Mr. Gladstone: "The Liberal party has long been committed to Home Rule; and from Gladstone's day down to the present the political trend has been in that direction." Two letters that I received in 1893 present a picture of "Gladstone's day;" one written by Sir Maurice O'Connell, of Lakeview, County Kerry, Ireland, the son of the Liberator's youngest brother, Sir James O'Connell; the other by Daniel O'Connell, of Derrynane Abbey, County Kerry, Ireland, the grandson of "the most remarkable Irishman of the nineteenth century." Said the latter: "Would the prosperity of Ireland be increased by Home Rule? In my opinion, it would not, but would be destroyed." The former described the situation in these words: "As a false impression has been created that the contest upon the Home Rule Bill is in reality only a contest between a Roman Catholic majority and a Protestant minority, we have thought it right, in order to make their position clear, that Irish Roman Catholic Unionists should have an opportunity of joining in a separate and distinct petition to Parliament against the bill. The petition was signed by a vast majority—well over ninety per cent—of the most highly educated and most influential Roman Catholics of Ireland—peers, country gentlemen, lawyers, merchants—whose interests are inseparable from the interests of Ireland, and who are unanimous in believing that the Home Rule Bill means ruin to this country, if not to the Empire. The entire Home Rule Bill of 1893, as Mr. Spurgeon said of its predecessor of 1886, bears ample evidence of having been hatched in the brain of a lunatic."

Sir Maurice O'Connell's reference to Mr. Spurgeon suggests the wisdom of giving the exact language of the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon, who in his letter to Alderman Cory, of Cardiff, expressed himself thus concerning Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill: "I feel the wrong proposed to be done to our Ulster brethren. What have they done to be thus cast off? The whole scheme is as full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a madman."

Sheridan, Illinois. JOHN LEE.

### THE NAPLES ZOÖLOGICAL STATION

In the August 1 number of The Outlook, under the caption "The Marine Biological Laboratory," you mention "the wonderful marine aquarium and laboratory at Naples" and mention further "the notable biological work done there under the auspices of the Italian people."

I visited the Naples aquarium in 1894, and was there informed that the Italian people unfortunately took but comparatively little interest in it. Baedeker's Guide-Book tells us that the Naples Zoölogical Station, of which the aquarium is a part, was founded in 1872 by the German naturalist Anton Dohrn, mostly with his own means, to study the animal and plant life of the Mediterranean. The German Government contributed 100,000 marks towards the expense of the building and its equipment, and since 1880 has also made an annual contribution for maintenance. Several English naturalists gave the station £1,000.

Later the Italian Government contributed funds for an extension to the building. The scientific workers were mostly foreigners and the Director was a German.

RUDOLPH HERING,
President American Public Health Association.

New York City.

[The founder was a German; the present Director is an Italian citizen, the son of an Italian mother and a German father, and a very delightful and able man he is.—THE EDITORS.]

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# BY THE WAY

"Supervisor McGinnies said that the superintendent of highways was the most important office in a town," writes a correspondent of "Good Roads" in reporting a meeting. "Almost any one," Mr. McGinnies went on, "knows enough to be supervisor. Why, I have been a supervisor for fifteen years. But it takes a man of tact, ability, and hard common sense to be a successful town superintendent. I want to see the time come when this office is out of politics." Sensible men, even if they are office-holders, are everywhere coming to share this opinion that town administration should be a matter of business, not of politics.

Among the humors of war this bit from the "Christian Register's" Mrs. Malaprop has its significance: "'I understand,' said Mrs. Twickembury, 'that all the war news is to be censured.'"

Peking, China, is to have a belt railway to connect its four railway terminals. Later it is to have a central station. Tunnels are to be bored through the ancient walls to facilitate the handling of traffic. Thus Peking will soon have "all the modern improvements."

Writing of the growing use of Roman letters in languages which have heretofore employed other characters, H. L. Bullen says in "The Graphic Arts" that "in the revolt of Albania which preceded and brought on the recent war in Turkey, the Albanians demanded the right to use the Roman geometric forms of letters instead of the Turkish cursive forms." He states also that in Japan the type foundries now make more of Roman types than of the Japanese characters formerly in universal use.

Shiraz, in farthest Persia, might be supposed to be exempt from Western influences; yet a writer in "Travel," in describing the bazaars of that fascinating Oriental city, says that while most of the industries use domestic products, the flourishing coppersmiths of the town, working out fine copper vessels of every description with primitive implements, get their copper in the form of sheets from London!

Who can tell by the sound of railway tracks just what point he is passing? An English commuter says that, closing his eyes, he can tell, by listening to the music of the rails, when his train is on an embankment, when it is in a cutting, when it runs past a station, when it passes through a tunnel or over a bridge, etc. The suggestion has pleasant possibilities of amusement for a monotonous journey.

A new ferryboat designed to carry trains across the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Levis, Canada, has a "tidal deck," which may be raised or lowered within a range of eighteen feet so as to take on trains at any stage of the tide. The boat is planned to ply at all seasons of the year, having a third propeller in front to break the ice during the winter.

Gloucester, Massachusetts, has been disturbed by a salt famine, but it is gratifying to read that it has lately been relieved by the arrival of 4,000 tons of that indispensable article in the curing of fish and that "the war in Europe had nothing to do with the shortage." The principal cause was the immense catches of fresh fish during the summer.

Tom Barron, of England, according to an agricultural paper, is winning egg-laying contests in every part of the world. He has recently been telling the Connecticut Poultry Association about some of his methods. During the poultrymen's convention he sold sixty-two hens that he now has in competition in this country for $2,200. This successful poultry raiser began life as a shoemaker.

Gold, it is reported, has been discovered in Broad Pass on the Sustina River, in Alaska. A rush of prospectors has already started for the new fields. The discovery will probably give an impetus to the construction of the railways which the Government is building in Alaska.

Among the joys of middle-aged women, as enumerated by the "Progressive Farmer," are these: They can do the things they desire without criticism; can accept any position for which they are fitted; can travel anywhere; are comparatively free from fashion's dictates; can have men friends "without their vanity making them think we are coquetting;" and, lastly, "we are worth talking to; we have humor, a fund of information, opinions on most subjects, and, what is more, freedom to discuss them."

A correspondent writes that the cold-storage eggs reported in our "War Notes" to have been shipped to Liverpool by the New York arrived there "in horrible condition, unsalable." As this description is sometimes supposed to apply to the cold-storage eggs which our own long-suffering people are compelled to buy and use, it looks as though our British cousins were not very far on the road to famine as a result of the war. The eggs shipped, our correspondent says, numbered 21,000 dozen, not 36,000,000 as the newspapers stated; the latter number would comprise 250 car-loads and cost $750,000!

The railways centering in Chicago now employ fifty inspectors to keep locomotive smoke at a minimum. This season's returns, says the "Railway Age Gazette," show "the best record for summer reading since the department was established." Among thirty-one roads the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy occupies the place of honor as to the suppression of the smoke nuisance.



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